DIFFICULT PUPILS IN CHRISTCHURCH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

Difficult pupils are a source of major concern. In 1980 a study was undertaken in fourteen Christchurch state secondary schools to examine the nature, incidence, correlates, etiology and treatment of 'difficult' behaviour. Classroom teachers, senior staff, and 'difficult' as well as well-behaved pupils contributed their perceptions of the problem. The main research methods were rating scales and structured interviews.

Teachers nominated 210 pupils (116 boys and 94 girls) (2.6% of the combined secondary school rolls) as so difficult that they needed help to cope with them. Lower socio-economic levels, Non-Europeans, children from larger families or solo parent homes and children of lower scholastic aptitude were over-represented. Persistent defiance and behaviours which interfered with learning were the teachers' main concerns.

Sex, race, scholastic aptitude, and type of school proved to be significant classificatory variables. Males, Non-Europeans, those of low scholastic aptitude and those from co-educational schools tended to engage more frequently in the more blatantly anti-social misbehaviours. Sex interacted with race, with Non-European females tending to smoke, flout uniform regulations and use obscene language more frequently than other groups.

While senior teachers saw family factors as important they also acknowledged the contribution of the school curriculum and organization. The most favoured solution was improved staffing ratios to allow greater flexibility in providing for difficult pupils within the school.

Difficult pupils were rated significantly lower in social development and self-esteem than controls. However there was considerable overlap in the pupils' self-descriptions, reported perceptions of the opinion held of them by significant others, definition of problem behaviour and suggested solutions. In spite of this more of the difficult pupils regarded themselves, and saw those in authority regarding them, negatively. Their misbehaviours constituted challenges to authority rather than being schoolwork-related. Both groups saw the responsibility for control lying primarily with teachers. A third of the difficult pupils expressed a desire to change their attitudes and behaviour at school and to achieve better family communication.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The general purpose of this study was to analyse the concept of 'difficult' behaviour in schools and to make a preliminary investigation into its nature, incidence, correlates, etiology and treatment in secondary schools in a large New Zealand city.

Schools have sets of expectations with which a pupil's progress and behaviour are compared. The pupil is considered a problem when he or she fails to conform to these guidelines. In general anti-social, aggressive, and disruptive behaviour is regarded as 'difficult'. Of particular concern to schools is behaviour which interferes with teaching and learning, and there are signs of increasing unease about this matter.

The Minister of Education indicated this in his address to the Post-Primary Teachers' Association's 1979 Conference. "There is a larger more disruptive group of students in schools. Not only does this place a greater strain upon individual teachers but, more importantly, it impedes the work of the classroom teacher with the very large majority of pupils who are keen to learn." (Wellington, 1979, p.20.) It is a concern of community groups such as the Educational Standards Association whose Chairman stated, "teachers themselves today can't handle their own classes. They wring their hands. I've had letters from members who are teachers saying that young people today are ill-disciplined and simply defeat the effect (effort?) of the teachers to reach their class". (Scott, 1980, p.7.) Likewise the subject of the discipline and control of disruptive pupils is one of great importance to

teachers. In presenting the Auckland region's paper on discipline and control to the 1980 P.P.T.A. Conference the convenor observed that "teachers are excited by it because it is a major stress factor in our day to day school life. It is what makes and breaks teachers. The media and the community are excited by it. The media loves (*sic*) sensational stories of out-of-control classrooms and teachers." (Ellis, 1980, p.3.)

The Problem

Over the past four years a sub-committee of the Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council has been looking into areas in which they could offer support and help to schools with problem pupils. When in August, 1979, the Minister of Education announced "that a special centre for disruptive children might be set up in Christchurch" (Christchurch Star, 1979, p.15), the need for a systematic investigation of the problem in Christchurch became more obvious.

The present study is, therefore, an example of action research addressed to a practical problem. It stems from, and contributes to, the state of knowledge about problem pupils in a specific location, namely the fourteen state secondary schools within metropolitan Christchurch which are administered by the Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council.

The study made use of naturalistic methods as well as statistical analysis. Its validity arises from the use of perspectives from three principal groups of actors involved in school behaviour: classroom teachers, senior staff and the pupils themselves. The pupil contribution appears to be

unique. In the literature reviewed there was no indication that this had been done before. Indeed Duke (1978, a.) saw as part of the "unfinished agenda" the task of "finding out how students perceive their own misbehaviour and that of other students." (Duke, 1978, a, p. 432.)

Parents are also concerned with the school behaviour of their children. However they were excluded from the present study because it sought to concentrate on the perception of the actors most directly involved in the situation, for 'difficulty' is a socially defined phenomenon. It could be argued that carefully controlled observations would provide more valid data than some that have been relied upon here. This argument is admitted. However the reality is that the definition of a pupil as 'difficult' and the subsequent reactions to his difficult behaviour are based on teacher perceptions rather than carefully compiled records. A strength of the research was that it allowed teachers to be directly involved in defining, attributing causes of and proposing solutions for a problem of immediate concern to them. However the statistical analysis also provided evidence in confirmation or refutation of common beliefs.

There are problems in defining 'difficulty'. As most pupils at some time engage in some of the behaviours regarded as difficult, definition becomes a matter of degree, not of kind. Therefore, in this study, the definition chosen as a starting point was:

> "A pupil who persistently causes you such serious difficulty that you have to call on your Principal, Deputy-Principal, Senior Master or Mistress, Deans or Tutors, Head of Department or Counsellor to assist you because regular means of discipline, (e.g. impositions, detentions) are ineffective."

Thus the emphasis was on the difficult pupil who 'acts out' rather than on the difficult pupil who is passive, withdrawn or apathetic, although the latter is increasingly a concern of schools as well.

The study aimed to investigate the numbers and characteristics of difficult pupils and to classify the behaviours regarded as unacceptable. It sought to examine teachers' perceptions of the overall effect which problem pupils have on the school, and teachers' attributions of causes. The intention was also to survey existing methods of coping and to gather suggestions about new possibilities.

The most difficult pupils in the sample were selected for further study. They were compared with a matched sample of well-behaved pupils on teacher ratings of social development and self-ratings of self-esteem. Finally their perceptions and those of the matched pupils were compared.

This study attempted to find answers to the following questions:

1. What proportion of pupils in Christchurch state secondary schools are classified as 'difficult' by their teachers?
2. What personal and social characteristics distinguish pupils classified as 'difficult'?
3. What constitutes difficult behaviour?
4. What overall effect do difficult pupils have on the school?
5. What explanations can be offered for difficult behaviour?
6. What interventions are commonly tried and to what extent are these deemed to be successful?

7. What new interventions might be tried?
8. How do the most difficult of all the pupils compare with well-behaved pupils on measures of social development and self-esteem?
9. Compared to well-behaved pupils, how do the most difficult pupils perceive themselves and what are their perceptions of how others see them?
10. How do the most difficult and the well-behaved pupils differ in their perceptions of what constitutes difficult behaviour and of what can be done about it?

Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter II reviews mainly recent literature on the definition and explanation of difficult behaviour and on strategies for dealing with it. Chapter III describes the methods used to investigate the problem. All state secondary school classroom teachers who taught pupils fitting the definition had the opportunity to participate in the initial survey of behaviours of concern. Selected teachers rated pupils on social development. Senior staff and selected pupils participated in the structured interviews.

The results of the data-gathering from the survey questionnaire, the rating scales and the structured interviews are contained in Chapter IV. The last chapter summarizes and discusses the findings.

This study addressed itself to the problem of difficult pupils in Christchurch state secondary schools in 1980. It sampled the perceptions of the principal actors in the situation, teachers, senior staff and pupils concerning the

nature, extent, causes and possible solutions to the problem. The study provided evidence for the Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council's case to the Minister of Education in support of the establishment of an alternative facility for extremely disruptive pupils. It also provided directions for their continuing search for ways of supporting teachers.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A wide body of literature discusses the question of difficult or deviant pupils in schools. The nature and incidence of the problem, the characteristics of the pupils, theoretical explanations and methods of dealing with difficult behaviour all receive attention. However the perceptions of the pupils themselves do not appear to have been investigated. The problem has many dimensions such as the philosophical, political or pathological which are not covered here. In this study the emphasis is on the immediate concerns of the institution and ways of making it more humane and pupils less disruptive.

The Incidence of Difficult Behaviour

There is a common belief that the incidence and severity of 'difficult' behaviour among secondary school pupils is escalating. To support this view Feldhusen (1978) cited figures from the United States Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Between 1970 and 1973 assaults on students rose 85 percent while assaults on teachers rose 77 percent. He also quoted the National Institute of Education Report which noted that 70,000 teachers are physically attacked annually while 100,000 have their property vandalised, the total cost of school vandalism approaching $590 million a year. However Doyle (1978) challenged the view that difficult and criminal behaviour among youth has necessarily increased overall. He pointed out that in nineteenth century U.S.A. only 50 percent of the school-aged population was enrolled in

schools. Criminal behaviour such as assault, extortion, arson and robbery took place outside schools whereas today, when schooling has become "the predominant occupation of youth.....juvenile crime has become a school reality rather than simply a social reality. The lesson of this shift is not that students or schools are worse than they used to be. The fundamental message is that the nineteenth century belief in the automatic efficacy of schools as a solution to social ills is untenable." (Doyle, 1978, p.8.)

As part of a survey of the policies and practices of all state secondary schools in New Zealand (Department of Education, 1980), the incidence of different forms of misconduct was recorded. Physical attacks on teachers were rare but verbal abuse common. In 25 percent of schools pupils attacked each other physically. Theft of pupil property was common but theft of school property rare. "The larger the school, the greater the incidence of vandalism, theft, verbal abuse and physical assault." (Department of Education, 1980, p.4.)

The Difficult Pupil

In her study of suspensions and expulsions in Dunedin secondary schools Howell (1974) found that the highest incidence of difficult behaviour occurred in the fourth and fifth forms with girls predominating in the former and boys in the latter. Girls again predominated in the third form. There was no significant difference between the number of males and females expelled. However girls tended to offend in verbal ways while boys tended to offend through violence, bullying and vandalism.

There appeared to be no relationship between difficult behaviour and ability, with most offenders being of average ability. Principals reported poorer parent-child communication in the homes from which suspended and expelled pupils came, a conclusion also reached by principals in the survey of policies and practices in state secondary schools (Department of Education, 1980).

Rutter (1975) reported a greater incidence of difficult school behaviour in boys and in children from solo parent homes but little consistent variation attributable to social class. The 'typical' juvenile delinquent described in Juvenile Crime in New Zealand (1973) was male, of low average intelligence from a large family where relationships were unsatisfactory.

Behaviour of Concern

There are problems of definition, interpretation and observation in any attempt to classify behaviours. A number of writers mentioned the difficulties inherent in the use of teacher ratings. Elmore and Beggs (1975) had 30 Southern Illinois elementary school teachers rate 733 students and then report the rating a fortnight later. They concluded that "the results.....clearly indicate that teachers' ratings of pupil personality traits over a short period are not consistent". (Elmore and Beggs, 1975, p.73.) They suggested as possible explanations that the traits may not be stable, the test may be unfair if teachers have not been trained in rating, lack of specificity of terms may preclude accurate rating, or there may be changes in teacher attitude. In the

Isle of Wight study Graham and Rutter (1968) found that of 157 children selected as maladjusted on the basis of teacher ratings, 64 were finally diagnosed as maladjusted.

Ultimately a combination of methods of data collection seems to offer the most promise. The interview has its place among these methods. "The structured but open-ended interview.....offers the possibility of a considerable amount of standardization without limiting the scope of the information obtained." (Graham and Rutter, 1968, p.581.) Goldman (1978) favoured human judgement and explained the limitations of "complex statistical work (which) sometimes masks the essential triviality or ambiguity of the questionnaire responses or ratings and observations. Questions of statistical significance often take precedence over concern with real-life importance." (Goldman in Hansen, 1978, p.455.) In combination the strengths of one method may compensate for the weaknesses of another.

The distinction between 'normal' and 'abnormal' behaviour is not a clear one either, according to Herbert (1974) who stated that "it seems fairly clear from the evidence that there is no absolute distinction between the characteristics of those who come to be labelled 'problem children' and other unselected children. The differences are relative, a matter of degree.....by and large exaggerations, deficits, or handicapping combinations of behaviour patterns common to all children." (Herbert, 1974, p.9.) Teachers react to the intensity, high rate and duration of deviant behaviour in pupils labelled as difficult. However 'abnormal' behaviour may be a very 'normal' reaction to a situation of great

stress. Nevertheless it has adverse consequences in the wider social setting. "We tend to judge the child by the effect he has on us." (Herbert, 1974, p.17.)

In an early study, Wickman (1928) examined teacher perceptions of what constitutes undesirable school behaviour with 27 Cleveland elementary teachers. Such behaviours were arbitrarily assigned to seven major groups. Numbers in brackets indicate the frequency of occurrence of behaviours in that group and asterisks those regarded as most serious.

1. Violations of general standards of morality and integrity (76) eg. stealing*, lying*, cheating, obscenity*, smoking, sexual misconduct*.
2. Transgressions against authority (27) eg. disobedience*, defiance*.
3. Violations of general school regulations (30) eg. truancy*, tardiness.
4. Violations of classroom rules (70) eg. disorderliness, restlessness, chatting.
5. Violations of school work requirements (41) e.g. inattention, laziness.
6. Difficulties with other children (38) eg. cruelty, fighting, bullying*, tale-telling.
7. Undesirable personality traits (136) eg. rudeness, arrogance, lack of self-control.

Wickman concluded that while psychologists were most concerned about withdrawing behaviour, teachers were most concerned about sex problems and overt challenges to classroom management and authority. Watson (in Beilin 1959)

criticised this conclusion because different instructions meant that teachers were rating the present seriousness of behaviour while the clinicians were concerned with future adjustment. Also there was no definition of terms. However Beilin maintained that "most investigators have shown teachers to be most concerned with children's behaviours that are aggressive, disruptive of school routines or generally reflecting lack of interest in school activities." (Beilin, 1959, p.17.)

Williams (1974) reported an Israeli comparison of rankings of thirty problem behaviours by teachers, psychologists generally, educational psychologists and clinical psychologists. Overall, rankings were similar but there were some differences in the ten problems ranked as most serious. Teachers and psychologists rated cruelty first but teachers had dishonesty, aggressiveness and stealing as second, third and fourth respectively while psychologists had depression, nervousness and aggressiveness in these positions.

Larrivee (1979) compared group and individual rating of pupils by teachers using the Devereux Elementary School Behaviour Rating Scale and obtained similar item responses in 89 percent of the ratings. Factors which emerged were classroom disturbance (items such as needs control, teases, interferes), impatience (starts too soon, unwilling to proofread) disrespect-defiance (defies teacher, breaks rules), external blame (says the teacher does not help or the work is too hard), inattentive-withdrawn (does not attend), and irrelevant responses (tells exaggerated stories, interrupts).

Morse (1964) described three types of socially maladjusted child. First was the semi-socialized child who owed a basic loyalty to a gang, second the hedonistic, impulsive child fixated at a low level of socialisation, and third the child with an absence of conscience and guilt who lacked the capacity to socialise. Quay (1978) distinguished four groups of deviant behaviours. The first group he labelled conduct disorder where behaviour is at variance with social expectations and "clearly aversive both to adults and other children." (Quay, 1978, p.9.) The second group, personality disorder, may take an aggressive or withdrawn form. Behaviours in the third group are an expression of inadequacy and immaturity while the fourth group of behaviours are those characterising the socialised (subcultural) delinquent. The behaviours in the conduct disorder group are the most difficult in the classroom. They include disobedience, disruptiveness, fighting, destructiveness, irritability, damaging property, irresponsibility, impertinence, jealousy, profanity, quarrelling, attention-seeking, boisterousness, assault, defiance of authority, inadequate guilt feelings, dislike for school and negativism.

Stott et al (1975) attempted a classification of maladjusted behaviour i.e. that which is disadvantageous to the agent. An experimental revised version of the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides was completed by teachers of 2527 five to fourteen-year-old school children in Ontario. Stott et al, concluded that while the three syndromes of underreaction: Unforthcomingness, Depression and Withdrawal, occurred in both their initial and revised classifications two further core syndromes were identifiable, namely Hostility and In-

consequence which tend to overlap. "The Inconsequent child, by exceeding the tolerance-limits of the adults who are responsible for him, excites rejection and hostility, thus destroying the security of his own social affiliations, to which he in turn responds by hostility." (Stott et al., 1975, p.164.) Inconsequent items highly associated with Hostility are: gets up to tricks to gain attention, misbehaves when the teacher is engaged with others, never gets down to solid work, moves around in seat or out of seat, plays to the crowd, plays the hero, slumps in seat and attends to anything but the set work. The Inconsequent child persists in impulsive bids for attention. Stott rejected anxiety as an explanation for such behaviour, instead defining anxiety as a feeling-state associated with both over-reacting and under-reacting maladjustment.

In tests of the consistency of the syndromes over age and sex 75 percent of the items showed complete consistency over the age-range while 91 percent showed complete consistency between the sexes. Overt, stressful or frustrating behaviour was still more likely to be associated with referral than was unobtrusive maladjustment. "To a large extent the decision to refer or to charge with an offence is a function of the tolerance-limit of the adult who has to bear the brunt of the maladjusted behaviour." (Stott et al., 1975, p.161.)

However Tizard (in Williams, 1974) dismissed the claimed advantages of Stott's classification over "the more widely used child guidance classification (Ministry of Education,

1955.) or the empirically-based classification outlined by Rutter (1965)." (Williams, 1974, p.105.) He maintained that Stott's syndromes provided no more precise definition than existing terms such as 'conduct disturbance' or 'behaviour disorder'.

Theoretical Explanations

(a) Sociological

'Difficulty' is not an absolute category but a socially constituted term. Like 'deviance' it is a socially defined and relative phenomenon. This is the interactionist view elaborated by Hargreaves et al. (1975). 'Difficult' is a property conferred on certain behaviour, "not a quality that lies in the behaviour itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it." (Becker, quoted in Hargreaves et al. 1975, p.4.) Antonouris attributed this to a view of society in which there is constant conflict over the question of control. "One can only judge the normality or deviance of a particular item of behaviour against the standard chosen as a moral yardstick. So deviancy is seen in terms of which groups have the power to label others, and in the reasons why certain groups are labelled as deviants while others are not." (Antonouris, 1974, p.213.)

In contrast the positivist view acknowledges the existence of deviance and looks for causes and ways to control it. In a consensus view of society the majority decide what constitutes correct behaviour. Those who meet the prescribed norms or social expectations are adjusted. Those who do not are maladjusted. "The interests of each individual are ultimately those of society as a whole." (Antonouris, 1974,

p.213.) In the positivist view those who deviate are thought to be insufficiently socialised or to suffer from some flaw in the personality. In the classrooms, deviance or difficulty is essentially connected with the question of order.

Rhodes and Paul (1978) challenged the concepts of normality and deviance, seeing them as culturally relative and not absolute. "Deviance is defined with reference to the value system of the framework in which it is understood. This reality and the values assigned to it do not necessarily have to match experienced realities. Neither does it acknowledge the alternative realities it is possible to experience." (Rhodes and Paul, 1978, p.151.) It is social reaction to their behaviour rather than the behaviour itself which differentiates deviants from conformists. Whether a rule breaker is labelled deviant or difficult depends on a number of factors including "the extent to which the system needs to have a deviant role filled, the frequency and visibility of the rule breaking, the tolerance level for rule breaking, the social distance between the rule breaker and agents of social control, the relative power of the rule breaker in the system, the amount of conflict between rule breakers and agents of social control, and whether or not anyone has a special interest in enforcing penalties against the rule breaker". (Rhodes and Paul, 1978, p.172.)

According to these authors, the concept of normality in western societies is an expression of a neurotic need, used by people to conceal from themselves the limitations and blemishes of their natures. According to this view, schools are based on normality, and, along with legal, medical, social welfare, and religious institutions, they are used to

deal with deviance in society. Thus individuals are seen as parts of institutional structures rather than as unique brings. "The social mandate has been to reduce the behavioral variance in the classroom, that is to normalize the child to fit the value structure of a particular social system." (Rhodes and Paul, 1978, p.133.)

Deviance is defined in relation to the value system of the institution which does the labelling. A person does not become deviant merely by breaking rules. He or she must be publicly designated or labelled 'deviant' as well. School pupils are particularly susceptible to the 'labelling process'. Teachers, as agents of control, invoke the labelling process, i.e. they select from among a number of rule breakers those who will be defined as playing deviant roles. "The differences between deviants and conformists are only apparent in their behaviors and are actually a result of the social reactions to their behaviors." (Rhodes and Paul, 1978, p.173.) Labelling generally is very much a part of school life. Large schools could be compared with factories (Callahan, 1972) where products and personnel are categorized in terms of input, output and functions. As a preliminary to understanding, teachers are labelled as 'first-year' or 'senior' etc., pupils are labelled according to ability and behaviour and classes receive similar treatment.

The pupils are not the 'agents of control' and are therefore more easily subject to labelling. Parents have ceded their economic and legal authority over their own children to teachers, 'in loco parentis'. For a pupil to acknowledge this authority is to accept dependence. The

subordinate chooses "to obey all the preferred rules or norms that are established by the category of person who is designated the authority." (Werthman, 1970, p.21.) Not all pupils automatically accept the authority of teachers, the assumption on which control is based. Those who are sociologically adult see acceptance of authority as a matter of choice, dependent on mood, the audience or feelings about the teacher. "For many teachers, the very existence of the assumption that submissiveness is a matter of choice becomes sufficient ground for the withdrawal of (the mutual) trust (upon which superior-subordinate relationships depend)." (Werthman, 1970, p.25.)

Whereas jobs, income, possessions and personal appearance are a source of identity in the adult world, academic pursuits, sports or leadership activities provide the means of achieving ascribed status in the school world. Identity and status are both important. In the adult world they are determined by a sort of consensus, although some sub-cultures (e.g. religious groups, feminists, right-wingers, left-wingers etc.) reject some that are widely held. In schools the means of identity and status are controlled largely by teachers and boards and their view of what the outside world wants. Pupils go along with much of this but also create their own norms in terms of language, dress and responsiveness to the school's values for example. Werthman maintained that some of those (especially lower-class boys) who cannot get status in those spheres find that rules provide "opportunities to demonstrate courage in situations that entail some risk." (Werthman, 1970, p.26.) However gang boys do

not misbehave in all classes. The teacher considers that the classroom is a place for teaching and learning. The pupil may see it as a place for other activities such as communicating with friends. Teachers can ignore non-learning activities if they are not disruptive, they can enter into the preferred activity, or they can protest. A conflict may well arise if a teacher, in response to a challenge to his or her authority, defends his or her honour in an imperious way, thus provoking pupils who regard their participation in class activities as voluntary and who then defend their autonomy. Pupils "may also feel that there are limits to the kinds of things a teacher can legitimately make rules about" (Werthman, 1970, p.20.), and reject rules about dress and personal appearance. If the teacher views his or her authority as an unquestionable right to impose certain rules, a pupil may well resist him in order to define his own autonomy. If, however, the teacher can accept Bertrand de Juvenel's definition of authority as "the faculty of gaining another man's assent" (Werthman, 1970, p.34.), the pupil may co-operate.

A number of empirical studies have tested sociological theories about difficult pupil behaviour. Stebbins (1970) maintained that teachers, when teaching effectiveness or learning potential is impeded or order is threatened, have a disorderly behaviour set, "a readiness to act to avert or arrest misconduct among students." (Stebbins, 1970, p.232.) However such a behaviour set "leads to action only upon perception of certain cues in the environment." (Stebbins, 1970, p.232.) These include behaviours such as slouching

or turning around, the way the student is identified (e.g. 'below average', or 'poorly behaved') and how his intentions are viewed. In the Stebbins study which took place in 1969-70, thirty-six experienced male and female teachers from Grades 4, 7, 8, 10 and 11 in St John's, Newfoundland were observed for two hours in the classroom and then interviewed at the end of the day. Instances of disorderly behaviour and teacher reactions to them were noted.

It was concluded that teacher definitions of difficult behaviour were habitual personal definitions rather than cultural, i.e. the definitions are held elsewhere but the teacher is unaware of this and there is no consensual sharing of the definition. Therefore the teacher selects his own habitual definition in response to certain environmental cues rather than acting in response to a cultural definition, i.e. one arrived at consensually by a community. Three types of routine behaviour gave offence. These were whispering or talking, 'side involvements' such as carving the desk or playing with a pen (because of the fear that these would turn into main involvements), and 'being away' by daydreaming which frustrated the teacher's teaching aims. Teachers explained pupil misbehaviour in terms of 'proximal' influences, (e.g. asking a nearby pupil for help, boredom) or 'distal' influences (e.g. personality, lack of motivation or home background). "In the evaluation of a pupil's misconduct, the teacher's personal knowledge of him is most likely to be activated when he is above average or below average, when he is a conspicuous behaviour problem, when he possesses special psychological or physical impediments, or when there

are extenuating circumstances." (Stebbins, 1970, p. 225.) For example, if it was not too disruptive, inappropriate talking was not censured in badly behaved or below average pupils, an example of the 'avoidance-of-provocation' hypothesis. Above average pupils were seen as misbehaving only because they had finished their work or were particularly active, whereas low intellectual capacity was advanced as the reason for misbehaviour among below average pupils.

Willower and Lawrence (1979) examined pupil control ideology (PCI) and pupil control behaviour (PCB). They see schools as "organizations where neither the organization not its clients have a choice about client participation in the organization. Client control is stressed in such organizations and those directly responsible for it face unmistakable pressures, since weak control commonly is equated with ineffectiveness. Hence, clients could be seen as threats.....the greater the perceived threat, the greater the custodialism." (Willower and Lawrence, 1979, p.586.) Willower and Lawrence hypothesized that there would be "a direct relationship between teacher perceptions of student threat to teacher status and custodialism in teacher PCI" (Willower and Lawrence, 1979, p.586) and that this threat would be conceived of as greater in seconday schools because of the greater size, age and maturity of the pupils and therefore secondary teachers would be more custodial (in PCI) than elementary teachers. On a teacher sample of 533 in North-East U.S.A. all the hypotheses received support but on the overall sample less than 10 percent of the variance in PCI was accounted for. Further work is needed to examine the personality and social-organizational causes behind the major

hypothesis about the connection between perceived threat to teacher status and custodialism.

Polk and Schafer (1972) saw the organizational structure and ideology of the school as virtually assuring negative responses from some. The system is such that there must be some in the failure and discipline problem roles to serve as contrasts to the high achievers and socially conforming pupils. Misbehaviour, along with under achievement and dropping out, is "properly and most usefully to be seen as adverse school-pupil interactions and not simply as individual acts carried out by pupils as natural responses to damaged psyches or defective homes." (Polk and Schafer, 1972, p.146.) Except for pathological cases, every pupil can be motivated to conform if he or she can see the school offering something valuable to him or her as a reward for his or her working hard. If it does not, difficult behaviour provides a visible face-saving way out, for failure in school is also visible.

A study by Fox (1977) of alienation amongst 674 Canterbury fourth formers supported these contentions. She concluded "that student dissatisfaction with school apparently focuses on the perceived bureaucratic organisation of the school and on perceived student-school conflict over values which the student has about school and the extent to which the school puts those values into effect." (Fox, 1977, p.1.)

Morton-Williams (1968) found that British fifteen-year-old leavers who had negative attitudes to school complained about the curriculum, rules, teaching and timetable in par-

ticular. One third criticised the curriculum, wanting more 'life' skills, practical subjects and physical education while 10 percent criticised the teaching, stating that teachers should be understanding rather than very clever and that they should give more help when the pupil was having difficulties. One quarter (more girls than boys) complained about the strictness of school discipline and the inconsistencies and trivialities of school rules. One tenth disliked aspects of the timetable such as length of periods.

In a study of violence in schools Mayer and Butterworth (1979) concluded that "it is apparent that educators who frequently encourage, permit or punish acting-out behaviours are increasing the likelihood that violence will occur, creating a paradoxical situation: our schools are perpetuating the very violence and vandalism of which they are victims." (Mayer and Butterworth, 1979, p.437.) This is in accordance with Kounin's (1970) finding that teacher scolding often produces disruption of class activities and even more misbehaviour. Teacher contributions which Mayer and Butterworth found to be associated with disruptive behaviour included punishments (and failure and frustration in learning may be punishments), teacher modelling of the use of violence by using caning, ignoring violent acts and thereby appearing to sanction them, and misuse of behaviour modification, for example, where time-out was thought to be aversive but was really reinforcing for the student.

Although attempts may be made to attribute difficult behaviour solely to personality or family background there is evidence of school factors. In a factorial study of maladjustment Burt and Howard (1974) concluded that it was the

result of interactions between environmental and personal conditions. The two school factors most significantly associated with maladjusted behaviour were work which was too difficult, and uncongenial teachers. "More often it is the personal relations between the child, his teacher, or his school fellows that provide the chief aggravating factors." (Burt and Howard, 1974, p.130.) An examination of records of suspensions and expulsions in London over twenty years showed that 73 percent of the pupils involved improved greatly in behaviour with a change of school while 68 percent improved with a change of class. This led Burt and Howard to conclude that the primary cause of maladjustment is not necessarily within the individual and his family as is often asserted.

(b) Psychological

There is a long tradition of examining behaviour disorders from a psychological point of view. Studies involving the proponents of behaviour modification (e.g. Goldstein, 1978) illustrate the importance attached to this approach as does the involvement of the Psychological Service in New Zealand secondary schools when pupils are difficult to control. To consider only sociological factors is simplistic. Difficult behaviour often has its origins both within the personality and within the institution.

Rhodes and Paul saw one type of maladaptation as the result of the "psychological consequences of central nervous system dysfunction." (Rhodes and Paul, 1978, p.82.) Harris concluded that "there is no doubt that a higher percentage of EEG abnormality is found in children with behaviour disorders than in normal children." (Hersov (ed), 1978, p.13),

while Rutter saw males as psychologically more prone to adverse reactions to stresses such as separation experiences.

Feldhusen (1978) quoted Jessor and Jessor's (1977) four year longitudinal study which concluded that a personality syndrome is responsible for anti-social behaviour in school. An adolescent with such a personality syndrome "does not value academic achievement, does not expect to do well academically, is much concerned with independence, regards society as problematic and deserving criticism and reshaping, has a tolerant attitude towards transgressions, and lacks interest in conventional institutions such as church and school." (Feldhusen, 1978, p.20.) Bloom (1979) concluded that low self-image was strongly associated with behaviour disorders. "When compared with the aggregate mean of the available published scores for normal children ($\bar{x}$ = 56.2, s.d. 12.5) the behaviourally disordered children have significantly ($t = 5.06$, $p<.0001$) lower self-concept scores." (Bloom, 1979, p.485.)

Goldstein (1978), Bijou and Ribes-Inesta (1972) and Yule (in Hersov, 1978) all proposed a social learning, psychoeducational view of anti-social behaviour, "as either the presence of maladaptive behaviours which have been learned or as the absence of adaptive behaviours which have not yet been learned." (Hersov, 1978, p.116.) The behavioural deficits are the result "of inadequate reinforcement and instruction rather than.....some hypothetical internal psychopathology." (Bijou and Ribes-Inesta, 1972, p.52.)

Quay and Werry (1972) saw the influence of the family in various types of difficult behaviour. The psychopathic delinquent has suffered parental rejection, the neurotic delinquent has been over-controlled, and the socialised (sub-cultural) delinquent is the victim of neglect, permissiveness and exposure to delinquent norms. "Parents of children with conduct disorders were maladjusted, inconsistent, arbitrary and given to explosive expressions of anger. Mothers were often tense and frustrating, and fathers were inadequate and emotionally distant." (Quay and Werry, 1972, p.43.) Hewett (1972) saw the classroom as the place where conduct disorders were most visible as the child was faced with "demands for attention, participation, direction-following, control, socially acceptable behaviour, and mastery of academic skills." (Hewett, 1972, p.388.)

Rutter also suggested that pupils labelled as 'difficult' could be regarded as suffering from a type of personality disorder, namely conduct disorder "in which the chief characteristic is abnormal behaviour which gives rise to social disapproval." (Rutter, 1975, p.29.) Alternatively such pupils may be regarded as lacking in social skills, i.e. "those social behaviours, interpersonal and task-related, that produce positive consequences in the school classroom setting." (Cartledge, 1978, p.134.) Teachers rate the social skills connected with order, rules, obedience and responsibility as the most important and thus "attention and attending behaviours repeatedly emerge as among the most im-

portant for classroom success." (Cartledge, 1978, p.138.) Therefore the pupils most likely to be regarded as difficult are those deficient both in personal interaction skills such as sharing, smiling, greeting others and controlling aggression and in task-related skills such as attending, speaking positively about learning materials, complying with teacher requests and remaining on task.

Rutter (1975) also stated that the temperamentally vulnerable are very susceptible to environmental influences and that as males are biologically weaker they are more susceptible to family stress than females. The children of parents who are chronically depressed or neurotic, or who have a personality disorder, are more likely to exhibit emotional or behavioural problems. So are children brought up in one parent homes. "However,it is much less certain how far the children's problems stem from the lack of a father (or mother) and how far from the many adverse factors that happen to be associated with the situation of having only one parent." (Rutter, 1975, p.172.) Clay and Robinson (1978) concur. In their Auckland study, they concluded that the child's adjustment after separation may "depend more on the quality of his family life before separation than on the fact that his parents currently live apart." (Clay and Robinson, 1978, p.114.) Economic circumstances after separation exerted a strong influence.

A number of studies recorded in Hersov (1978) also examined family influences. It was generally found that children who have not been loved fail to develop a conscience which will act as an internal regulator of behaviour. The

development of a conscience seems to depend more on a desire to preserve love than on a fear of punishment and parents who have had deprived childhoods themselves often feel ineffectual, demand instant obedience in order to feel adequate, and punish severely when it is not forthcoming. Hersov quotes Farrington's conclusion that "the factor which was most clearly related to violent delinquency was harsh parental attitude and discipline at age eight." (Hersov, 1978, p.83.) Rutter is cited for his conclusion that severe marital discord is the strongest family influence on the development of conduct disorders.

Feldhusen (1978) reported that the most significant family influences are lax, over-strict or inconsistent discipline and lack of a close husband-wife relationship.

(c) Social-Psychological

Recent work on the study of small groups, family interactions and sensitivity training, for example, has revealed the importance of social-psychological processes.

In a report on two studies of attribution theory Medway (1979) stated that "the assignment of credit or blame to individuals for an action is most pronounced when forces under the individual's personal control rather than forces originating within the environment are judged as responsible for the event." (Medway, 1979, p.809.) In the first study 30 female elementary and middle school teachers, who had requested special education referrals for 23 male and 7 female pupils with learning and/or behaviour problems, were asked to attribute causes. Ability factors were seen as the major

cause in 67 percent of the children with learning problems while home difficulties were seen as the major cause in an equal proportion of the children with behaviour problems. "The more severe behaviour problems were perceived to be, the more they were seen as reflecting underlying personality disorders and the less they were seen as resulting from previous educational experiences." (Medway, 1979, p.814.)

In the second study 24 elementary teachers completed the Classroom Adjustment Rating Scale (Lorion et al, 1975) and an Attributional Questionnaire for each referred child and named two non-difficult controls. This was followed by classroom observation of teacher behaviour (especially the use of praise, warning or criticism) towards the referred child and one control. Pupil problems were attributed significantly more to deficiencies in scholastic aptitude, motivation, and personality, than to educational background or teaching. None of these attributions were related to praise but all were significantly related to criticism, 63 percent of the variability in criticism being accounted for by these attributions. "Teachers who attributed student problems to a lack of motivation were found to provide more negative feedback to referred children in comparison with non-problem peers." (Medway, 1979, p.815.) To account for the personalising of blame Medway proposed that because the teacher's emotional investment in the pupils is high he tends to deny the possibility of his own role in producing pupil problems in order to protect his own self-image.

Smith's (1976) work on social influence processes in sensitivity training could profitably be related to the classroom. Smith followed Kelman (1958, 1963) in distinguishing three patterns of social influence. Compliance occurs when an individual accepts influence in order to gain some social or material reward or avoid some punishment. A compliant act is based on expediency rather than on a change in the individual's beliefs. A pupil may comply with a teacher's request in order to be liked, to be well-regarded when accrediting takes place, or to avoid detention.

Identification-based influence occurs when an individual changes his behaviour in accordance with the wishes of someone who is an attractive figure. The behaviour change helps to sustain a rewarding relationship and to maintain "the definition of self". (Smith, 1976,a. p.1089.)

"Internalization-based influence occurs when the individual accepts influence because the change is congruent with his value system." (Smith, 1976,a. p.1088.) Thus, the pupil works hard because he shares the teacher's belief that hard work is a virtue and brings reward.

The previously discussed work of Werthman (1970) provided examples of this categorisation. Gang boys accepted teacher authority (influence) in relation to school work and complied where they saw their own ends being served. They would behave for teachers who were attractive to them because they acknowledged the boys as people but generally they shared few of the values of their teachers. Smith concluded that internalization was most likely to occur when the object of the influence was influenced by someone who liked him,

whom he trusted and who created tension (i.e. motivation to change) in him. The teacher, like the sensitivity group trainer, would need to be very sensitive to the level of such tension in an individual or group. Social influence theory could well illuminate some of the interactions which take place between teachers and difficult pupils.

Solutions

As difficult behaviour may stem from a number of different kinds of causes different solutions are appropriate. Hewett (1972) suggests psychoanalytic treatment for the emotionally disturbed, cultural enrichment for the culturally deprived, sensory-motor training for the neurologically impaired, remedial education for the educationally handicapped and behaviour modification for those with conduct disorders.

An article by an unnamed author in Education, 1980, 29, 3 reviewed the methods of dealing with difficult pupils most commonly used in New Zealand secondary schools. The behaviours objected in order of seriousness were alcohol, bullying, swearing, smoking, stealing, traffic offences, vandalism, truancy, talking and disrupting lessons, failure to do homework and absence from sports commitments. Drinking offences are commonly followed by suspension and smoking by caning, while 10 percent of schools would contact parents about the latter. Stealing is commonly dealt with by consultation with parents and, if serious, by suspension. Methods of dealing with violent bullying include caning, counselling, consultation with parents, suspension or police involvement. Swearing may earn suspension, caning, reprimands or time-out. After vandalism, restitution is sought,

while truancy is usually followed by consultation with parents and detention. Disruptive pupils were "most frequently.....sent to a senior teacher to talk matters over; otherwise they were given detentions, temporarily withdrawn from classes, interviewed by their form teacher, counselled, or put on report." (Department of Education, 1980, p.3.) Corporal punishment was found to be still widely used especially on Form 4 boys in city schools.

Thus, in New Zealand, it appears that punishments of various sorts prevail in response to unacceptable behaviour. The pupil is still held responsible for his acts even if mitigating circumstances are considered. New Zealand teachers have not accepted "the depersonalization of blame (which) appears to relieve misbehaving individuals of any responsibility for their actions." (Duke, 1978(a), p.415.) Duke sees the attribution of blame as a prime determinant of the school's response to difficult behaviour. When, because of the belief in 'original sin', children were held totally responsible for their behaviour, harsh punishment was considered appropriate for misbehaviour. Then Freud introduced the idea that much individual behaviour is rooted in the past and in the unconscious, whereas behaviourists considered that individuals are shaped by stimuli in their environment rather than by self-determination. Thus modifying reinforcers in the environment could lead to behavioural change. Finally sociologists such as Parsons and Weber asserted that the real causes underlying human behaviour lie in social forces and institutions. Only if these were changed could individual behaviour change.

These views of human behaviour are reflected in the approaches schools have taken. School rules have been applied as antidotes to student misbehaviour. The individual is held responsible for his acts. "A standard response to increased misbehaviour has been to create more rules and/or make the consequences for disobeying existing rules more harsh." (Duke, 1978, (b), p.116.) Duke criticizes this use of rules, for three reasons: they tend to be determined by those least subject to their application, they are often not communicated effectively nor enforced consistently, and consequences for disobeying them often lack a logical relationship to the offence. "If anything, conventional punishments seem designed more to mollify angry teachers." (Duke, 1978, (b), p.122.)

Pickens (1980) in a review of studies into the effects of traditional punishments concludes that their effectiveness is limited. Punishment may actually inhibit learning by arousing anxiety in other children or undesirable attitudes such as fear or resentment of the teacher, hatred of school, or dislike of education in the punished child. A relationship between low achievement and negative statements by the teacher has been shown to strengthen as the teacher's language becomes more immoderate. Corporal punishment is still common but all it "seems to do is suppress the undesirable behaviour, and then only temporarily." (Pickens, 1980, p.10.) A 1962 study showed that children caned for smoking actually increased their use of cigarettes after punishment. Reynolds of the University of Cardiff, in a study of schools matched for intake, found that those which caned heavily also had more delinquents, a higher truancy rate, and lower achieve-

ment. Pickens hypothesized that teachers persist in using corporal punishment in spite of evidence as to its ineffectiveness, because it provides an instrument of control for the unskilled, it is regarded as manly, and it can suppress undesired behaviour for a while.

One way of dealing with those who violate social norms is to exclude them, yet Western Australia's Dettman Report concluded "that suspension was an inadequate deterrent in that those students who were most likely to receive this form of sanction were the pupils who disliked it least of all." (Dettman, 1972, p.11.)

Likewise Howell (1974) in a study of suspension and expulsion in Dunedin secondary schools concluded that suspension removed rather than coped with a problem. Of the 29 pupils expelled who re-enrolled elsewhere only two were re-expelled. One possible explanation was that the original school environment rather than the pupil may have been the major problem. Also suspension may be unfair in that cultural norms differ. For example a Maori may regard a pupil absence of ten days to attend a tangi as a legitimate absence whereas the school may regard it as an instance of truancy. Nielsen (1979) found that in the United States "the overwhelming majority of offenses that result in suspension are infractions damaging neither to property nor to people, such as tardiness, smoking, truancy and disrespect." (Nielsen, 1979, p.442.) He also found that non-whites were overrepresented in suspension statistics. Yet the New Zealand Courts uphold each school authority as in the case of Edwards v. Onehunga High School in 1973 over the issue of long hair on a boy.

Modifying the teachers rather than modifying the pupils can be effective. Most of the Wellington teachers and Porirua East Liaison and Relieving Team members interviewed about discipline by Hooson (1980) emphasized the importance of the teacher. Discipline is self-discipline,an obligation on teachers and pupils alike. Teachers need the confidence which is based on self-knowledge. "Cnly if you feel good as a person, can you build your confidence as a teacher" (Hooson, 1980, p.6.), and display the degree of honesty, fairness, praise, clarity, consistency and relevance of teaching material which is called for in relationships with pupils. In an American study Waksman (1979) reported that 75 percent of a group of twelve difficult pupils referred to the Multnomah County School Mental Health Program improved significantly in classroom behaviour and achievement under a scheme in which behaviour management training for teachers played a major part.

Social skills training would appear to offer something to teachers as the work of Cartledge (1978) Bijou and Ribes-Inesta (1972), Goldstein (1978) and Pease (1979) demonstrates. However Pease showed that motivation is an important element in the success of skills training. He found that the more extraverted difficult pupils whose maladaptive social skills had enabled them to get by were less motivated to change and had more unlearning to do.

Finally, in their survey of alternative schools, Perry and Duke (1978) provided evidence to support the contention that changing the institution can lead to a diminution in problem behaviour. "Where documentation could be obtained,

specific absenteeism, theft, and vandalism appeared to occur less often than in conventional schools" (Perry and Duke, 1978, p.79.) and "class disruptiveness, aggressive behaviour, and disrespect towards peers was rarely reported or observed in the alternative school." (Perry and Duke, 1978, p.81.) Features of the alternative schools surveyed by Perry and Duke which appeared to contribute to their greater freedom from problems were small size, treating the pupils as adults, adopting realistic attitudes towards student behaviour, providing a relevant curriculum, a few clear, co-operatively determined and consistently enforced rules and certain specific teacher skills (such as the no-lose method of problem-solving) and psychological traits.

Summary

Little evidence was readily available about the incidence of difficult behaviour in New Zealand secondary schools but that which was stated that verbal abuse was more prevalent than physical abuse which is a major problem in the United States. Difficult pupils were likely to be male, fourth or fifth formers, of low average scholastic ability, and to come from large families in which relationships were relatively poor. The chief behaviours of concern were those which disrupt learning, challenge teacher authority or violate the norms against violence and theft.

'Difficulty' was seen as a socially defined term applied after violations of norms set by the more powerful social groups. It was suggested that institutions may need deviants in order to define their norms in relation to those who transgress them. Those who contravene the norms may hold

different ones. Perception of threat to teacher status were seen as central to the application of sanctions to rule-breakers. The inflexible organisational structure may, it was suggested, contribute to the problem of difficult behaviour.

Some of the psychological explanations for difficult behaviour were neurological impairment, the existence of a conduct disorder, poor self-image and inadequate socialisation. Social-psychological theories discussed included the attribution of blame and the impact of different responses to social influence, namely compliance, identification and internalization.

Among the solutions discussed were punishments such as detention, caning, tightening the rules, and suspension and expulsion. Positive measures included training and supporting teachers, contingency management, social skills training and the provision of small, flexible alternative schools. The problem of difficult pupils and its solutions appeared to reside in an interaction between the pupil and the school environment rather than solely within the individual's personality or home circumstances.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were difficult pupils on the rolls of fourteen state secondary schools within metropolitan Christchurch between 1 February and 13 June, 1980. Classroom teachers selected pupils on the basis of the definition provided.

There are problems in defining difficulty. As most pupils at some time engage in some of the behaviours regarded as difficult, definition becomes a matter of degree, not of kind. Therefore in this study the definition chosen as a starting point was:

> "A pupil who persistently causes you such serious difficulty that you have to call on your Principal, Deputy-Principal, Senior Master or Mistress, Deans or Tutors, H.O.D. or Counsellor to assist you because regular means of discipline (e.g. impositions, detentions) are ineffective."

The data presented here do not provide a complete picture of the situation in Christchurch state secondary schools. For example, senior staff in three schools indicated that in their opinion, a further twelve to fifteen of their pupils should have been included. They suggested two reasons why teachers might not have completed questionnaires. Some teachers may have feared that to do so would reflect on their competence. Others may have forgotten pupils who were attending school earlier in the year but who had since left. One class teacher commented that he did teach several very difficult pupils but as he coped with them himself they did not fit the definition given. Another influence could be that a change of co-ordinator in two schools meant that follow-up

of teachers may not have been as thorough as it might have been. One school did not contribute any pupils to the sample.

It must also be noted that the data provide a subjective impression rather than a completely accurate picture. Some pupils may be judged as 'difficult' because they exhibit many of the undesirable behaviours; others because of the frequency and effect of only a few behaviours. What is presented here are teacher perceptions of reality rather than what actually exists.

A total of 210 pupils (116 boys, 94 girls) was finally available. This represented 2.6% of the total population of the fourteen schools as at 1 March, 1980. A number of questionnaires were eliminated because senior staff members considered that they indicated teacher problems rather than difficult pupils. In general more than one teacher completed a questionnaire for each of the 210 pupils. However in homeroom situations only one teacher, or two in collaboration, completed the questionnaires.

One of the purposes of the initial survey was to find out what sort of pupils were regarded as difficult. Therefore the characteristics of the sample were recorded under Results rather than here.

Instruments

(a) The Survey Questionnaire

(i) Design. A number of behaviour scales were considered. These included the Junior-Senior High School Personality Questionnaire (Cattell and Beloff, 1963) the

Children's Behaviour Questionnaire (Rutter, 1967), the Portland Problem Behavior Checklist (Waksman and Loveland, 1980) and the Walker Problem Behavior Identification Checklist (Walker, 1970). However it was decided to construct a Questionnaire composed of items drawn from the researcher's experience as a guidance counsellor observing problem classroom behaviour while acting as a consultant for teachers in contingency management.

The Questionnaire was given a trial with teachers in a large city co-educational school in November 1979. These teachers gave their comments to senior staff who then discussed the Questionnaire with the researcher before the final version was constructed.

Fourteen in-class behaviours were included:

Refuses to obey instructions	Tantrums
Attacks other pupils	Out of seat
Attacks teacher	Rude to teachers
Serious vandalism	Lies
Swears	Does little work
Screams/Yells	Disrupts lessons
Expresses strong dislike of school	
Throws objects.	

Space was provided for classroom teachers to specify any other behaviours of concern and to note the behaviour considered most disruptive.

Ten out-of-class behaviours were included also:

Steals (school-related only)	Fights in playground
Flouts uniform regulations	Truants
Drinking alcohol at school	Smokes at school

Serious physical attack	Out of bounds at lunchtime
Swearing/obscene language	Serious vandalism.

Classroom teachers were asked to rate the frequency of occurrence of each behaviour in three categories: Frequently (to be interpreted as meaning more than half the time), Sometimes (less than half but more than one quarter of the time), and Hardly Ever (less than one quarter of the time). No tick in a frequency column indicated that the pupil did not engage in a particular behaviour as far as the teacher knew.

On the back of the Questionnaire there was provision for senior staff to record the number of times interventions such as detention, caning, suspension, expulsion, conference with parents, counselling etc. were tried. They were also asked to note whether agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare, the Psychological Service or the Child and Family Guidance Clinic had been involved with the pupil.
(The Questionnaire forms Appendix E.)

(ii) Scoring. A behaviour receiving a rating of 'Frequently' was assigned a score of 3, one rated 'Sometimes' 2, one rated 'Hardly Ever' 1 and one not rated, 0. As the number of teachers rating each pupil varied, a mean score per behaviour was obtained by totalling the ratings given and dividing by the number of teachers responding. Mean scores were taken to one decimal place but because the decimal points were not recorded on the computer sheets mean scores appear as whole numbers (e.g. if the mean score were 2.5 this appeared on the computer sheet as 25).

A total score was obtained by summing the scores assigned to each of the twenty-four behaviours, (maximum possible 720). This was used only to select the upper quartile for further investigation.

(iii) Classificatory Variables. Age, sex, race, scholastic apptitude (as indicated by an I.Q. score, generally an Otis Higher or A.C.E.R. Intermediate D score), socio-economic status (as indicated by a parent's occupation), family size, and form class were used as classificatory variables.

For the analyses of variance each of the twenty-four behaviours referred to above was treated separately as a dependent variable.

The classificatory variables are those commonly used in an investigation of this type and were chosen on logical grounds.

1. Age.
2. Form Class (C)

There is a common belief among secondary school teachers that the most difficult behaviour is found in the fourth form. Howell (1974) found the highest incidence of troublesome behaviour in the fourth and fifth forms and more girls than boys offending at a younger age, perhaps because of their earlier physical maturity. Therefore these two variables appeared to be worth investigating.

3. Sex (S)

Sex seemed an obvious choice as there is evidence of a sex difference in difficult behaviour, a number of studies (e.g. Beilin, 1959; Medway, 1979; Rutter, 1975; Stott et al., 1975; and Waksman 1979) finding a predominance of boys.

4. Race (R)

For the purposes of educational statistics New Zealand secondary school pupils may choose with which ethnic group they wish to identify. (Of the non-Europeans in this survey 41 were Maori, 3 Samoan and 1 Indian.) In New Zealand race has been shown to be associated with juvenile delinquency, offending rates for Maoris being much higher than rates for non-Maoris. (Department of Social Welfare, 1973.)

5. Socio-Economic Status (based on Father's Occupation) (E)

Socio-economic status was assigned according to the six levels of the Elley and Irving Socio-Economic Index for New Zealand (1972) with an additional category for non-working solo parents. It seemed a logical variable to choose in view of the disagreement over its effects, Beilin (1959) and Duke (1978a) finding low socio-economic status to be associated with problem school behaviour, the Department of Social Welfare (1973) finding it to be associated with juvenile delinquency but Rutter (1975) and Stott et al. (1975) finding that the prevalence of conduct disorder does not vary consistently with social class.

6. Family Size (F)

Large family size has been found to be associated with difficult behaviour in the community. (Department of Social Welfare, 1973.)

7. Scholastic Aptitude (A)

This appeared to be another logical variable to choose because Feldhusen (1978), the Department of Social Welfare (1973), Medway (1979) and Polk and Schafer (1972) found an association between low scholastic aptitude and difficult behaviour.

8. Type of School (T)

It seemed reasonable to assume that there could be differences between the four single sex and the ten co-educational schools.

(b) The Structured Interview with Senior Staff

This was designed by the researcher to sample senior staff opinions about patterns, causes and methods of dealing with difficult pupils (see Appendix F). Kerlinger (1964) declares that "the best instrument available for sounding people's behaviour would seem to be the structured interview coupled with an interview schedule that includes open-ended, closed and scale items." (Kerlinger, 1964, p.476.) Graham and Rutter (1968) share this viewpoint. "The structured but open-ended interview.....offers the possibility of a considerable amount of standardization without limiting the scope of the information obtained." (Graham and Rutter, 1968, p.581.)

As the researcher, a guidance counsellor, had had considerable experience in interviewing it seemed appropriate to use this tool which combines direction and freedom, thus allowing considerable flexibility.

(c) The Social Development Scale

It was decided to use a Social Development Scale (Pilot Version) developed at the University of Canterbury (Turnbull, 1980) to measure the social adjustment of the upper quartile of the difficult pupil sample and to compare the results with those obtained from a matched sample of well-behaved pupils. This new scale was chosen because it is a New Zealand scale,

it encompasses normal social development as well as social maladjustment, the behaviours are carefully specified, and the validation study undertaken by Turnbull showed that the scale clearly differentiates the normal from the maladjusted child. In addition it was proposed to use data from this survey for further validation of the scale.

"A 1 to 5 scoring system was used for each item with the scale frequency indicating the highest level of social development receiving a score of 5, and the scale frequency indicating the lowest level of social development receiving a score of 1." (Turnbull, 1980, p.5.) Four scores were recorded for each subject: a full total derived from all the original 62 items (maximum possible 310), a revised total based on items included in the revised version (maximum possible 240), a Social Skills subscale score (maximum possible 80) and a Socialization subscale score (maximum possible 155). The Social Development Scale forms Appendix G.

(d) The Self-Esteem Scale

It is a common assumption (Bloom, 1979) that those pupils who contravene the norms of behaviour in secondary school may be low in self-esteem. After consideration of a number of self-esteem scales (e.g. the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Piers, 1969) and the Self-Rating Scale (Dinkmeyer and Caldwell (1970)) it was decided to use Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale because it is short, easy to administer and well-validated (see Appendix H). This was scored on a Likert scale of 1-4, a high score indicating high self-esteem and a low score the opposite. It was also scored according to agreement with low self-esteem

items (Items 2, 5, 6, 8 and 9) because this was Rosenberg's original scoring method.

(e) The Structured Interview with Pupils

This was designed by the interviewer to tap pupil self-perceptions, awareness of the opinions of significant others, attitudes towards and behaviour at school, attribution of the label 'difficult', description of incidents of misbehaviour, opinions about solutions and desired changes (see Appendix I).

Administration Procedures

The data-gathering procedures are outlined in Table 3.1. The survey began with a letter to the Principals (Appendix A) of the fourteen Christchurch state secondary schools in the second week of February, 1980. This was followed by telephone calls to the Principals to discuss the survey and to confirm participation. A number of schools were visited so that the whole staff had the opportunity to discuss the matter before consent was given.

On 25 February, 1980 a poster (Appendix B), and sample Questionnaires (Appendix E) were sent to the fourteen participating schools to alert the teachers to the study. Each school appointed a co-ordinator, often the guidance counsellor, to organise the survey within the school.

At the beginning of Term II copies of the Questionnaire and of the Guidelines for Teachers (Appendix D) were distributed to classroom teachers by the school co-ordinators according to the instructions in the Guidelines for School Co-ordinator (Appendix C).

TABLE 3.1

The Data-Gathering Process

1.	11-15 February	Introductory letter to Principals.
2.	18-24 February	Follow-up to letter.
3.	25 February	Questionnaire, Poster and Guidelines for Co-ordinators sample materials delivered to schools. Follow-up in person if requested.
4.	26 May	Questionnaires and Guidelines for Teachers delivered to schools.
5.	24 June - 11 July	Collection of Questionnaires and interviews with senior staff.
6.	24 July	Report on the first stage of the research delivered to Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council.
7.	7 August	Copies of the Report sent to Principals of all participating schools.
8.	15 September - 3 November	Distribution and collection of the Social Development Scale applied to selected pupils.
9.	24 October	Seminar with Principals and Guidance Counsellors. Presentation and discussion of the Report.
10.	3 November - 3 December	Administration of the Self-Esteem Scale and interviews with selected pupils.

Between 24 June and 11 July the researcher visited each school, collected the completed Questionnaires and conducted a structured interview with senior staff members (Appendix F). After an analysis of the data obtained in the first stage of the research a report was presented to the Secondary Schools' Council on 24 July. Copies of it also went to all Principals.

Stage two involved the distribution and completion of the Social Development Scale (Appendix G) during September and October, 1980.

During Stage three the researcher, a counsellor trainer and a counsellor-in-training visited those schools which had pupils in the upper quartile of the difficult pupil sample, administered a self-esteem scale (Appendix H) and conducted a structured interview (Appendix I) with these pupils and matched well-behaved pupils.

Methodology and Analyses

1. The Proportion of Difficult Pupils.

By completing a Questionnaire in relation to a pupil a teacher nominated him or her as 'difficult' according to the definition provided. Senior staff discussed the pupils whose names were submitted and deleted any whose inclusion, in their opinion, represented a teacher prejudice rather than a pupil problem.

2. Personal and Social Characteristics of the Sample.

The Questionnaire provided classificatory data from which to obtain a picture of the sample. In a statistical analysis multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAS) were used to look at the relationship between classificatory and

dependent variables. Various two and three-way permutations of all the classificatory variables except age (which was discarded in favour of form) were carried out using the fourteen classroom and ten out-of-class behaviours as dependent variables. The permutations chosen on logical grounds were:

(a) Sex by Race (SR)

(b) Aptitude by Formclass by Type of School (ACT)

(c) Sex by Aptitude by Formclass (SAC)

(d) Race by Formclass by Type of School (RCT)

(e) Sex by Type of School (ST)

(f) Race by Socio-economic Status (REF)

(g) Sex by Race by Socio-economic Status (SRE)

(h) Sex by Aptitude by Family Size (SAF)

(i) Formclass by Socio-economic Status by Family Size (CEF).

Further permutations were not attempted because of the possibility of empty cells and because the last permutation used yielded nothing significant.

Wilk's Lambda Criterion (likelihood ratio test) was adopted using Rao's approximate F distribution (Bock, 1975). The computer programme used was a revision of Bock's (1963) MANOVA programme developed at the University of North Carolina Psychometric Laboratory and held on disc at the University of Canterbury Computer Centre. Where the MANOVA main or interaction effects were significant, account was taken of the results of the univariate analyses of variance and the correlations between dependent variable measures. Where appropriate, simple effects tests (Winer, 1971) were employed to examine the trends of significant interactions.

3. Definition of Difficult Behaviour.

The Questionnaire was designed to provide a picture of the behaviours of concern to classroom teachers. Senior staff and the subsamples of difficult and well-behaved pupils had their chance to comment on this question during their respective structured interviews.

An upper quartile of 52 pupils was selected for more intensive study on the basis of a total score derived from the Questionnaire completed by teachers. These pupils were then matched according to sex, race, form class, scholastic aptitude and socio-economic status with 52 pupils regarded as well-behaved by their teachers. These pupils together formed the subsamples for the structured interviews with pupils, the Social Development Scale, and the Self-Esteem Scale.

As some of the upper quartile pupils had left school by September or October when the Social Development Scale was completed, it was possible to obtain results for only 42 of each group (80.76%). By the time of the interviews in November the sample was further reduced to 33 difficult pupils (63.46%) and 38 control pupils (73.07%).

4. The Effect Difficult Pupils have on the School.

The structured interviews provided an opportunity for senior staff and the selected pupils (see 3 above) to contribute their view on this issue.

5. Explanations of Difficult Behaviour.

Questions in the senior staff interview such as (5) What teacher characteristics contribute to the problem? and (7) What conditions outside the school contribute to diffi-

cult behaviour in school? provided an opportunity for senior teachers to offer their explanations. Pupils had the opportunity in Question (12) What exactly is it that happens when a teacher finds it difficult to manage X (or you)?

6. Interventions - Existing and Possible.

The back of the Questionnaire was designed to yield figures regarding the interventions commonly used. Questions 8 and 9 of the Senior Staff Interview (see Appendix F) also provided a chance for views to be recorded. Pupils had their chance to express their opinions in Question 15 of their interview schedule, How do you think such things could be avoided?

7. Social Development - a Comparison of Difficult and Well-Behaved Pupils.

The Social Development Scale yielded the data needed to compare the two groups of pupils (see 3 above).

8. Self-Esteem - a Comparison of Difficult and Well-Behaved Pupils.

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale provided the data for this comparison. Additional data were provided from Questions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 on the pupil interview schedule which examined pupil self-perceptions and their perceptions of how others see them (see 3 above).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

PART I: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

(a) PROPORTION OF DIFFICULT PUPILS

Administration of the Questionnaire yielded a sample of 210, representing 2.6% of the school's total rolls.

(b) CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Characteristics of the sample are outlined in Tables 4.1 to 4.6. There were slightly more boys than girls, 55.24 per cent compared with 44.76 percent. Fourth formers provided the largest form group, 45.2 percent (see Table 4.1).

The lower socio-economic level provided 55.71 percent of the sample. Socio-economic status was derived from Elley and Irving's Socio-Economic Index for New Zealand (1972) based on levels of education and income from the 1966 Census. Levels 1-3 (generally professional, adminstrative, managerial, and clerical) were classified as High and provided 14.29 percent of the sample, while levels 4-6 (generally trades, semi-skillled and unskilled) were classified as Low and provided the largest number of pupils (117). If, as seems reasonable, the non-working solo parent category is combined with the 'Low' socio-economic level, they together provided 85.71 percent of the pupils (see Table 4.2).

Those pupils of Low scholastic aptitude (I.Q. below 89) constituted 41.15 percent of the sample; those who were average (I.Q. 90-100) 49.28 percent and those who were above average (I.Q. 111 and above) 9.51 percent. I.Q. scores were mainly derived from verbal tests such as Otis Higher and ACER Intermediate D and therefore, essentially, were measures of scholastic aptitude.

Characteristics of the Sample (Tables 4.1 to 4.6)

Table 4.1

Form and Sex N = 209

	Form 3		Form 4		Form 5+	
Boys (N=115)	33	(28.70%)	56	(48.70%	26	(22.60%)
Girls (N=94)	23	(24.47%)	37	(39.36%)	34	(36.17%)
Total (N-209)	56	(26.79%)	93	(44.50%)	60	(28.71%)

Table 4.2

Socio-Economic Status and Sex N = 210

	High (1-3)		Low (4-6)		Solo Parent (7)	
Boys (N=116)	12	(10.34%)	71	(61.80%)	33	(28.46%)
Girls (N=94)	18	(19.15%)	46	(48.94%)	30	(31.91%)
Total (N=210)	30	(14.29%)	117	(55.71%)	63	(30.00%)

(In Table 4.1 and 4.3 N = 209 not 210 because of an error in a computer sheet entry.)

Of the pupils classified as Non-European in school records on the basis of their choice, 41 were Maori, 3 Samoan and 1 Indian. They constituted 21.43 percent of the sample (see Table 4.4) whereas they made up only 4.1 percent of the total sample rolls. More of the sample (68.57%) came from families of three or more children (see Table 4.5) but fewer from single sex schools (16.66%) although these four schools had 24.93 percent of the combined rolls (see Table 4.6).

The upper quartile of difficult pupils selected for more intensive study (N=52) was composed of 36 boys and 16 girls thus providing a higher proportion of boys (69.23%) than in the total sample. However the proportions of Europeans (78.84%) to Non-Europeans (21.16%) were almost identical in the total and the subsamples. Eight (15.38%) of the upper quartile came from Form 3, 24 (46.15%) from Form 4, and 20 (38.47%) from Form 5. The proportion in Form 4 was roughly equal to that in the total sample while Form 5 provided roughly 10 percent more and Form 3,10 percent fewer pupils. Twenty-eight (53.85%) were of low scholastic aptitude, 23 (44.23%) were average and 1 (1.92%) above average. Thus the below average group increased its representation compared with the total sample. Solo parent homes contributed 11 (21.15%) of these pupils while the majority (36) came from Levels 4-6 on the Elley-Irving Socio-Economic Scale. An even higher proportion (90.38%), therefore, came from the lower socio-economic and solo parent categories combined than did in the total sample.

It is important to note that while these characteristics relate to the sample and subsample studied they do not

Table 4.3

Scholastic Aptitude and Sex N = 209

I.Q.	Low (89)	Average(90-110)	Above Average(111+)
Boys (N=115)	56 (48.70%	52 (45.22%)	7 (6.08%)
Girls (N=94)	30 (31.91%)	51 (54.26%)	13 (13.83%)
Total (N=209)	86 (41.15%)	103 (49.28%)	20 (9.57%)

Table 4.4

Race and Sex N = 210

Race	European	Non-European
Boys (N=116)	91 (78.45%)	25 (21.55%)
Girls (N=94)	74 (78.72%)	20 (21.28%)
Total (N=210)	165 (78.57%)	45 (21.43%)

Table 4.5

Family Size and Sex N = 210

Number of Children	1 - 2	3 - 4	5+
Boys (N=116)	43 (37.06%)	45 (38.80%)	28 (24.14%)
Girls (N=94)	23 (24.47%)	45 (47.87%)	26 (27.66%)
Total (N=210)	66 (31.43%)	90 (42.86%)	54 (25.71%)

Table 4.6

Type of School and Sex N = 210

	Co-educational	Single Sex
Boys (N=116)	105 (90.52%)	11 (9.48%)
Girls (N=94)	70 (74.47%)	24 (25.53%)
Total (N=210)	175 (83.33%)	35 (16.66%)

necessarily apply to the real situation in schools because some schools gave incomplete returns which may have biased the sample. The proportions listed in the tables cannot be taken to represent the proportions that exist in the schools.

(c) BEHAVIOURS OF CONCERN

From Table 4.7 it can be seen that the behaviours occurring in the greatest number of cases in the classroom were refusal to obey, disrupting lessons, doing little work, being rude to teachers and being out of seat. However, because these figures were obtained by counting all occurrences, even those in the 'Hardly Ever' category it was decided to make another count of the 'Frequently Occurs' category only. The order changed when only those behaviours occurring frequently per pupil were considered (see Table 4.8). Then the order for classroom behaviours became doing little work, being rude to teachers, disrupting lessons, refusal to obey and being out of seat.

The out-of-class behaviours occurring in the greatest number of cases were swearing and flouting uniform regulations (both occurring in 45% cases) and truancy (43% cases) (see Table 4.7). However it is probably fair to say that teachers are less aware of playground behaviour than of classroom behaviour.

Teachers were asked to rate separately, the behaviour considered to be most disruptive in relation to each case (see Table 4.9). Here disrupting others became the first choice, disobedience second, and refusal to work third. Physical attack was now higher up in the ranking. While it

Table 4.7

Occurrence of Unacceptable Behaviours

Behaviour	Number of Cases	% of Cases	Rank Order
A. In class			
Refuses to obey	200	95	1
Attacks other pupils	111	53	10=
Attacks teacher	35	17	14
Serious Vandalism	52	25	13
Swears	155	74	6
Screams/Yells	113	54	9
Throws objects	93	44	12
Tantrums	112	53	10=
Out of Seat	163	78	5
Rude to Teachers	177	84	4
Lies	137	65	7
Does Little Work	184	88	3
Disrupts Lessons	186	88.5	2
Expresses a Strong Dislike of School	136	64	8
B. Out of class			
Fights in Playground	68	32	5=
Truancy	90	43	3
Smokes at School	67	32	5=
Out of bounds at lunchtime	71	34	4
Serious Vandalism	18	8	9
Steals	30	14	7
Flouts uniform regulations	94	45	1=
Drinking alcohol at school	1	1	10
Serious Physical Attack	10	10	8
Swearing/Obscene Language	45	45	1=

Table 4.8

Frequency of Occurrence of the In-Class Behaviours of Most Concern

Behaviour	Number of Cases	% of Cases	Rank Order
Does little work	138	65.7%	1
Rude to teachers	126	60.0%	2
Disrupts lessons	117	55.7%	3
Refuses to obey	87	41.0%	4
Out of seat	76	36.0%	5
Swears	41	19.5%	6

(Computed by counting only the 'Frequently Occurs' category for each pupil.)

Table 4.9

Behaviours Separately Rated as 'The Most Disruptive' per case

Behaviour	Number of Cases	% of Total	Rank Order
Disrupts others	74	35.23	1
Disobedient	36	17.14	2
Refusal to work	24	11.42	3
Rude to teacher	16	7.61	4
Physical attack	15	7.15	5=
No behaviour specified	15	7.15	5=
Truancy	10	4.76	7=
Out of seat	10	4.76	7=
Dishonesty	9	4.28	9
Refusal to speak	1	.50	10

(Computed from the 'Behaviour Considered Most Disruptive' section of the Questionnaire.)

was not one of the most frequently occurring behaviours it was regarded seriously. It is interesting to note that truancy was regarded as disruptive. Teachers reported that other pupils become unsettled and resentful when they see truants apparently acting with impunity. Checking on truants also interrupts other teacher activities.

The interviews with senior staff revealed that underlying the classification of pupils as 'difficult' there appeared to be teachers' sense of frustration because of their inability to change pupils' behaviour.

(d) INTERVENTIONS USED

A noteworthy feature of the pattern of interventions was the contact with parents which took place. In 70.9 percent of cases parents were interviewed. Senior staff saw this as often a very productive procedure. Detentions were still used frequently (81.9% of cases) but the incidence of caning was low (15.7%). Senior staff reported that detentions rarely resulted in a change of behaviour. Rather they provided a visible sign of disapproval and punishment.

Counselling had been tried in 75.7 percent of cases. According to senior staff it is probably not an effective means of changing behaviour when the pupil sees no need to change. However counsellors trained at Canterbury should be well-versed in behaviour analysis. It would seem that behaviour modification techniques could have been used more often than in 29.5 percent of cases. However their implementation is no simple matter (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

Interventions Used

Intervention	Number of Cases	% of Cases	Rank Order
Detentions	172	81.9	1
Caning (boys only)	33	15.7	7
Three Day 'Cooling-Off'	30	14.2	8
Suspension	20	9.5	10
Expulsion	7	3.3	12
Parent Conference	149	70.9	3
Withdrawal room	49	23.3	6
Temporary class change	24	11.4	9
Permanent class change	16	7.6	11
Counselling	159	75.7	2
Behaviour Modification	62	29.5	5
Telephoning Parents	108	51.4	4

Table 4.11

Social Agency Involvement

Agency	Number of Cases	% of Cases
Social Welfare Supervision	50	24.0
Children's Board	32	15.0
Children's Court	20	9.0
Boys'/Girls' Home	14	6.6
Psychological Service	36	17.0
Child and Family Guidance Clinic	7	3.0
Maori Affairs Community Officers	4	2.0
Youth Aid Service	9	4.0
Visiting Teacher	6	2.8

(e) AGENCY INVOLVEMENT

As could be expected the agencies involved in the greatest number of cases were Social Welfare and the Psychological Service (see Table 4.11). A feature that is perhaps surprising is the low involvement of visiting teachers. Perhaps this is an indication that school personnel tend to contact parents directly more often now than in the past. The visiting teacher service would appear to be one which has the potential to play a significant role in parent education and family counselling.

As records are not always kept of agency involvement the figures presented here cannot be taken as an accurate representation of what occurs.

(f) SUMMARY

The typical 'difficult' pupil could probably be described as a fourth former of average or below average intelligence from a lower socio-economic group and a larger than average family. He or she would disrupt classes, be rude to teachers, do little schoolwork, refuse to obey, move around the classroom a lot and swear. His or her parents would have been contacted and he or she would probably have been in detention often. He or she would have had a 1 in 4 chance of having come to the notice of the Department of Social Welfare.

While such pupils can have a powerful negative effect on other pupils and on teachers their behaviour may indicate inadequacies in the school system or in family life. However much more work will be necessary before any conclusions as to causation can be drawn. This survey reports teacher impressions. It is not a record of systematic observations.

PART II: MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VARIANCE (MANOVAS) OF THE SEPARATE BEHAVIOURS

The classificatory variables, (Sex (S) (male versus female), Race (R) (European versus Non-European), Scholastic Aptitude (A) (below average, average, above average), Form class (C) (Form 4, Form 5, Form 5+), Type of School (T) (co-educational versus single sex), Socio-Economic Status (E) (low, high, solo parent) and Family Size (F) (1-2 children, 3-4 children, 5 or more children) were used in a series of multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAS). Age was discarded in favour of Form class (see Table 4.12).

The dependent variables in each multivariate analysis of variance were the scores for each of the twenty-four classroom and out of class behaviours in the Survey Questionnaire.

In class

Refuses to obey instructions

Attacks other pupils

Attacks teacher

Serious vandalism

Swears

Screams/Yells

Throws objects

Tantrums

Out of seat

Rude to teachers

Lies

Does little work

Disrupts lessons

Expresses strong dislike of school

Table 4.12

Classificatory Variables Used in the MANOVAS with their Subgroups and the Number of Pupils in Each Subgroup. (N=210)

Variable	Subgroups	Numbers
Sex (S)	Male	116 (55.24%)
	Female	94 (44.76%)
Race (R)	European	165 (78.57%)
	Non-European	45 (21.43%)
Scholastic Aptitude (A)	Below average (>89)	86 (41.15%)
	Average (90-110)	103 (49.28%)
	Above Average (111+)	20 (9.57%)
Form class (C)	Form 3	56 (26.79%)
	Form 4	93 (44.50%)
	Form 5+	60 (28.71%)
Type of School (T)	Co-educational	175 (83.33%)
	Single Sex	35 (16.66%)
Socio-Economic Status (E)	Low	117 (55.71%)
	High	30 (14.29%)
	Solo Parent	63 (30.00%)
Family Size (F)	1-2 children	66 (31.43%)
	3-4 children	90 (42.86%)
	5 or more children	54 (25.71%)

(NB N = 209 for I.Q. and Form because data for one male was incorrectly entered on the computer sheet.)

Out of class

Fights in playground

Truants

Smokes at school

Out of bounds at lunchtime

Serious vandalism

Steals (school related only)

Flouts uniform regulations

Drinking alcohol at school

Serious physical attack

Swearing/obscene language

The series of MANOVAS conducted on the twenty-four behaviours involving two two-way and seven three-way comparisons of the classificatory variables yielded four main effects and three significant two-way interactions. The significant main effects results used in the discussion of results are presented in Tables 4.13 to 4.17. (Other significant, and all the non-significant results are available from Dr J.J. Small, Education Department, University of Canterbury.) However the significant interation occurred on only a small number of behaviours:

1. Sex by Race on 'Out of Seat', 'Smoking', 'Flouting Uniform', 'Obscene Language'.
2. Sex by Form on 'Does little work'.
3. Socio-Economic Status by Family Size on 'Swears', 'Rude', 'Lies' and 'Obscene Language'.

The significant interaction results are presented in Table 4.29 to 4.31.

Table 4.13

Summary of Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVAS): Main Effects, Interactions, Levels of Significance and Significant Dependent Variables for Sex, Race, Scholastic Aptitude, Form, Type of School, Socio-Economic Status and Family Size.

CLASSIFICATORY VARIABLES	MAIN EFFECTS				INTERACTIONS
	SEX	RACE	SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE	TYPE OF SCHOOL	
Sex by Race (SR)	p<0.001 Attacks pupils Throws Tantrums Out of seat Lies Steals	p<0.01 Dislikes school Truants Flouts uniform			Sex by Race p<0.01 Out of Seat p<0.05 Smokes p<0.001 Flouts uniform p<0.05 Obscene p<0.05
Aptitude by Form by Type of School (ACT)			p<0.01 Fights Truants Out of bounds Obscene	p<0.05 Rude Lies Flouts uniform Obscene	
Sex by Aptitude by Form (SAC)	p<0.001 Attacks pupils Screams/Yells Throws Tantrums Out of seat Lies Steals		p<0.01 Fights Truants Out of bounds Obscene		Sex by Form p<0.01 No work p<0.01
Race by Form by Type of School (RCT)		p<0.01 Dislikes school Truants Flouts uniform		p<0.05 Throws Rude Lies Truants Smokes Out of Bounds Flouts uniform Obscene	
Sex by Type of School (ST)	p<0.001 Attacks pupils Throws Tantrums Out of seat Steals			p<0.05 Rude Truants Out of bounds Flouts uniform Obscene Smokes	
Race by Socio-Economic Status by Family Size (REF)		p<0.05 Dislikes school Truants Flouts uniform			Socio-Economic Status by Family Size p<0.05 Swears p<0.05 Rude p<0.05 Lies p<0.05 Obscene p<0.05
Sex by Race by Socio-Economic Status (SRE)	p<0.001 Attacks pupils Throws Out of seat Lies Steals Tantrums	p<0.01 Dislikes school Truants Flouts uniform			Sex by Race p<0.05 Out of Seat p<0.05 Smokes p<0.01
Sex by Aptitude by Family Size (SAF)	p<0.001 Attacks pupils Throws Tantrums Out of seat Lies Steals		p<0.001 Fights Truants Out of bounds Obscene		

Table 4.14

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours Classified According to Sex and Race: Sex Main Effect.

Test of roots	F	df(hyp)	df(error)	p less than	R *1
1 through 1	3.679	24.000	183.000	0.001	0.570

	Univariate F tests				Means of Significant Results	
Variable	F(1,206)	Mean Square	p less than	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients	Males	Females
Refuses to obey	1.948	117.429	0.164	-0.240		
Attacks pupil	7.366	627.165	0.007	0.555	10.24	6.77
Attacks teacher	0.643	14.389	0.423	0.259		
Vandalism	2.401	97.554	0.123	-0.034		
Swears	0.065	7.255	0.799	-0.120		
Screams/Yells	3.715	391.418	0.055	-0.453	(8.45	11.33)*2
Throws objects	15.468	1189.331	0.001	0.595	9.23	4.45
Tantrums	4.196	399.196	0.042	-0.625	5.80	7.14
Out of seat	8.225	963.219	0.005	0.330	20.05	15.74
Rude	0.001	0.110	0.973	-0.001		
Lies	4.728	618.260	0.031	0.170	15.30	11.85
Does little work	2.014	208.878	0.157	0.249		
Disrupts	1.453	137.467	0.229	0.020		
Dislikes school	0.036	5.180	0.849	0.067		
Fights	0.105	8.409	0.746	-0.233		
Truants	0.001	0.124	0.975	0.170		
Smokes	0.080	9.001	0.778	-0.062		
Out of bounds	0.028	3.322	0.866	-0.125		
Out of class vandalism	2.722	43.323	0.101	0.118		
Steals	11.104	475.060	0.001	0.416	3.94	0.92
Flouts uniform regulations	0.055	7.348	0.815	0.037		
Drinks alcohol	0.584	0.832	0.446	-0.310		
Physical attack	0.164	4.306	0.686	0.148		
Obscene language	0.129	20.016	0.720	0.146		

*1. Canonical Correlation between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria

*2. from SAC ($F(1,191) = 4.080$, $p<0.05$)

Table 4.15

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours Classified According to Race and Sex: Race Main Effect

Tests of roots 1 through 1	F 1.899	df(hyp) 24.000	df(error) 183.000	p less than 0.01	R * 0.446		
	Univariate F tests					Means of Significant Results	
Variable	F(1,206)	Mean Square		p less than	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients	Europeans	Non-Europeans
Refuses to obey	0.408	24.612		0.524	0.002		
Attacks pupils	0.809	68.892		0.369	0.087		
Attacks teacher	1.342	30.012		0.248	-0.029		
Vandalism	0.196	7.952		0.659	0.033		
Swears	0.638	71.264		0.425	-0.012		
Screams/Yells	3.055	321.875		0.082	0.236		
Throws objects	2.833	217.807		0.094	0.209		
Tantrums	0.397	37.747		0.529	-0.117		
Out of seat	0.036	4.201		0.850	-0.281		
Rude	0.859	80.542		0.355	-0.136		
Lies	3.631	474.787		0.058	0.302		
Does little work	0.604	62.665		0.438	-0.213		
Disrupts	2.263	214.164		0.134	0.222		
Dislikes school	6.941	988.556		0.009	0.652	15.53	10.24
Fights	1.151	91.937		0.285	-0.276		
Truants	6.343	827.095		0.013	-0.329	7.83	12.66
Smokes	0.550	62.067		0.459	-0.215		
Out of bounds	0.457	53.430		0.500	0.445		
Out of class vandalism	0.127	2.015		0.722	-0.021		
Steals	0.709	31.195		0.394	-0.195		
Flouts uniform regulations	7.709	1036.624		0.006	-0.487	8.47	13.88
Drinks alcohol	0.816	1.162		0.367	0.259		
Physical attack	2.499	65.635		0.115	-0.291		
Obscene Language	0.003	0.417		0.959	0.021		

* Canonical Correlation between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria.

Table 4.16

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours Classified According to Sex, Scholastic Aptitude and Family Size: Scholastic Aptitude Main Effect

Test of roots	F	df(hyp)	df(error)	p less than	R *
1 through 2	1.909	48.000	338.000	0.001	0.554

	Univariate F tests				Means of Significant Results		
Variable	F(2,192)	Mean Square	p less than	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficient	Low Scholastic Aptitude	Average Scholastic Aptitude	High Scholastic Aptitude
Refuses to obey	2.326	141.670	0.100	0.264			
Attacks pupil	1.149	99.841	0.319	0.005			
Attacks teacher	0.988	22.887	0.374	0.093			
Vandalism	0.613	25.202	0.543	-0.277			
Swears	2.852	304.844	0.060	0.128			
Screams/Yells	0.871	93.273	0.420	-0.093			
Throws objects	1.637	124.546	0.197	-0.318			
Tantrums	0.228	21.352	0.797	0.020			
Out of seat	1.610	185.241	0.203	0.344			
Rude	2.495	226.086	0.085	0.437			
Lies	1.133	145.334	0.324	-0.256			
Does little work	0.594	60.803	0.553	0.014			
Disrupts	0.572	51.100	0.565	0.074			
Dislikes school	0.193	28.808	0.825	-0.192			
Fights	7.380	569.759	0.001	0.802	8.24	3.79	2.49
Truants	5.428	654.797	0.005	0.376	11.56	7.49	4.25
Smokes	1.865	220.305	0.158	0.057			
Out of bounds	4.679	522.942	0.010	0.269	9.28	4.24	2.50
Out of class vandalism	0.786	13.018	0.457	-0.192			
Steals	0.290	12.346	0.749	0.030			
Flouts uniform regulations	2.149	306.241	0.119	0.286			
Drinks alcohol	0.278	0.400	0.758	0.095			
Physical attack	1.945	53.082	0.146	-0.449			
Obscene language	4.520	686.536	0.012	-0.466	8.85	12.14	3.75

* Canonical Correlation between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria.

Table 4.17

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours Classified According to Type of School and Sex: Type of School Main Effect

Test of roots	F	df(hyp)	df(error)	p less than	R *1
1 through 1	1.603	24.000	183.000	0.05	0.417

	Univariate F tests				Means of Significant Results	
Variable	F(1,206)	Mean Square	p less than	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficient	Single Sex	Co-educational
Refuses to obey	1.780	106.606	0.184	-0.294		
Attacks pupil	1.269	108.849	0.261	0.101		
Attacks teacher	0.153	3.437	0.696	0.010		
Vandalism	0.453	18.317	0.502	-0.155		
Swears	0.947	105.631	0.332	-0.233		
Screams/Yells	0.059	6.344	0.808	-0.246		
Throws objects	1.841	143.907	0.176	0.209	(4.12	7.61)*2
Tantrums	3.068	288.519	0.081	0.244		
Out of seat	0.166	19.745	0.684	0.248		
Rude	5.873	532.932	0.016	0.590	15.43	19.62
Lies	2.877	379.329	0.091	0.031	(10.00	14.47)*2
Does little work	0.006	0.638	0.938	0.040		
Disrupts	2.318	218.951	0.129	-0.354		
Dislikes school	0.067	9.940	0.796	-0.223		
Fights	0.693	56.008	0.406	-0.028		
Truants	4.640	614.207	0.032	0.206	5.14	9.61
Smokes	11.341	1287.697	0.001	0.439	1.43	7.9
Out of bounds	5.008	569.946	0.026	0.061	3.43	7.67
Out of class vandalism	2.397	37.694	0.123	0.183		
Steals	0.197	8.405	0.658	-0.032		
Flouts uniform regulations	7.997	1088.317	0.005	0.247	4.57	10.64
Drinks alcohol	0.925	1.317	0.337	0.099		
Physical attack	0.016	0.424	0.899	-0.153		
Obscene language	5.572	855.971	0.019	0.208	5.71	10.83

* 1. Canonical Correlation between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria

* 2. from RCT (F24,174) = 1.668, p<0.05)

Sex Main Effect

The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) yielded a significant main effect for Sex ($F(24,183) = 3.679$, $p<0.001$). Univariate F tests revealed significant Sex main effects consistently on six dependent variable measures. On ATTACKS PUPILS, the males engaged in this behaviour more frequently than the females ($F(1,206) = 7.366$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_m = 10.24$, $\bar{x}_f = 6.77$)*; on THROWS OBJECTS, the males again engaged in this behaviour more frequently ($F(1,206) = 15.468$, $p<0.001$; $\bar{x}_m = 9.23$, $\bar{x}_f = 4.45$); on TANTRUMS, the males engaged in the behaviour less frequently than the females ($F(1,206) = 4.196$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_m = 5.80$, $\bar{x}_f = 7.14$); on LIES, the males lied more frequently than the females ($F(1,206) = 4.728$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_m = 15.30$, $\bar{x}_f = 11.85$); on STEALS, the males stole more frequently than the females ($F(1,206) = 11.104$, $p<0.001$; $\bar{x}_m = 3.94$, $\bar{x}_f = 0.92$); on OUT OF SEAT the males engaged in the behaviour more frequently than the females ($F(1,206) = 8.225$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_m = 20.05$, $\bar{x}_f = 15.74$). As the last behaviour 'out of seat', also occurred in the Sex-Race Interaction it should be viewed tentatively and will be dealt with later.

From the permutation Sex by Aptitude by Formclass (SAC) a sex main effect was also obtained on SCREAMS ELLS. On this behaviour the males engages in it less frequently than the females ($F(1,191) = 4.080$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_m = 8.45$, $\bar{x}_f = 11.33$) (see Table 4.14).

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* The abbreviations m and f are used to refer to Males and Females respectively.

Race Main Effect

The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) also yielded a significant main effect for Race ($F(24,183) = 1.899$, $p<0.01$). Univariate F tests revealed significant Race main effects on three dependent variable measures. Europeans scored higher than Non-Europeans on DISLIKES SCHOOLS ($F(1,206) = 6.941$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_e = 15.53$, $\bar{x}_{ne} = 10.24$)*; Europeans scored lower than Non-Europeans on TRUANTS ($F(1,206) = 6.343$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_e = 7.83$, $\bar{x}_{ne} = 12.66$); and Europeans scored lower on FLOUTS UNIFORM REGULATIONS than Non-Europeans ($F(1,206) = 7.709$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_e = 8.47$, $\bar{x}_{ne} = 13.88$). As Flouts Uniform Regulations also appears in the Sex-Race Interaction it should be viewed with caution here (see Table 4.15). It will be discussed later.

Scholastic Aptitude Main Effect

The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) yielded another significant main effect for Scholastic Aptitude ($F(48,338) = 1.909$, $p<0.001$). Univariate F tests revealed significant Scholastic Aptitude main effects on four dependent variable measures. Pupils of low scholastic aptitude scored higher on FIGHTS than pupils of average or high scholastic aptitude. ($F(2,192) = 7.380$, $p<0.001$; $\bar{x}_{ha} = 2.49$, $\bar{x}_{aa} = 3.79$, $\bar{x}_{la} = 8.24$); on TRUANTS pupils of low scholastic aptitude scored higher than pupils of average or high scholastic aptitude. ($F(2,192) = 5.428$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_{ha} = 4.25$, $\bar{x}_{aa} = 7.49$, $\bar{x}_{la} = 11.56$); on OUT OF BOUNDS pupils of low scholastic aptitude scored higher than pupils of average or high scholastic aptitude ($F(2,192) = 4.679$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_{ha} = 2.50$, $\bar{x}_{aa} = 4.24$, $\bar{x}_{la} = 9.28$); and on OBSCENE LANGUAGE pupils

* The abbreviations e and ne are used to refer to European and Non-European pupils respectively and the abbreviations la, aa and ha to low scholastic aptitude, average scholastic aptitude and high scholastic aptitude.

of average scholastic ability scored higher than pupils of low or high scholastic aptitude ($F(2,192) = 4.520$, $p<0.05$, $\bar{x}_{ha} = 3.75$, $\bar{x}_{aa} = 12.14$; $\bar{x}_{la} = 8.85$) (see Table 4.16).

Type of School Main Effect

The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) also yielded a significant main effect for Type of School ($F(24,183) = 1.603$, $p<0.05$). Univariate F tests revealed significant Type of School main effects on six dependent variable measures. Pupils of coeducational schools scored higher than pupils of single sex schools on RUDE ($F(1,206) = 5.87$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_c = 19.62$, $\bar{x}_s = 15.43$)*; pupils of coeducational schools scored higher than pupils of single sex schools on TRUANTS ($F(1,206) = 4.64$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_c = 9.61$; $\bar{x}_s = 5.14$); pupils of coeducational schools scored higher than pupils of single sex schools on OUT OF BOUNDS ($F(1,206) = 5.00$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_c = 7.67$, $\bar{x}_s = 3.43$); pupils of coeducational schools scored higher than pupils of single sex schools on FLOUTS UNIFORM REGULATIONS ($F(1,206)$, $= 7.997$, $p<0.01$; $\bar{x}_c = 10.64$, $\bar{x}_s = 4.57$); pupils of coeducational schools scored higher on OBSCENE LANGUAGE than pupils of single sex schools ($F(1,206) = 5.572$, $p<0.05$; $\bar{x}_c = 10.83$, $\bar{x}_s = 5.71$) and pupils of coeducational schools scored higher on SMOKES than pupils from single sex schools ($F(1,206) = 11.34$, $p<0.001$; $\bar{x}_c = 7.8$, $\bar{x}_s = 1.43$).

In addition, from the permutation RCT, univariate F tests revealed significant Type of School main effects on two further dependent measures. Pupils of coeducational schools scored higher on THROWS OBJECTS than pupils of single

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* The abbreviations c and s are used to refer to coeducational and single sex school pupils respectively.

sex schools ($F(1,197) = 4.44$, $p<0.05$, $\bar{x}_c = 7.61$, $\bar{x}_s = 4.12$); and on LIES pupils from coeducational schools scored higher than pupils from single sex schools ($F(1,197) = 5.87$, $p<0.05$, $\bar{x}_c = 14.47$, $\bar{x}_s = 10.00$) (see Table 4.17).

Significant Interactions

Sex and Race. Sex in interaction with Race produced significant results in relation to OUT OF SEAT, FLOUTS UNIFORM REGULATIONS, SMOKES and OBSCENE LANGUAGE. However Sex also operated as a main effect on Out of Seat, and Race did likewise on Flouts Uniform Regulations and so these Interactions should be viewed tentatively.

Be that as it may, the trend in the interaction was constant although the simple effects were not always significant (see Table 4.20 and Figures 4.1 to 4.4). Sex scores were reversed in the interactions, always in the same direction. Three of the interactions were disordinal and one ordinal. European females always scored lower than European males whereas Non-European females (who contributed most of the variance) always scored higher than Non-European males. In relation to the more blatant difficult behaviours, Non-European females always obtained the highest mean scores (FLOUTS UNIFORM REGULATIONS $\bar{x} = 17.25$, OBSCENE LANGUAGE $\bar{x} = 14.00$, SMOKES $\bar{x} = 7.47$) (see Tables 4.18 and 4.19). However in relation to Out of Seat behaviour the European males obtained a higher mean score ($\bar{x} = 20.97$) than the Non-European females ($\bar{x} = 19.35$), the European females ($\bar{x} = 14.77$) and the Non-European males ($\bar{x} = 16.68$).

Sex and Form. The Sex by Form Interaction yielded a significant result on DOES LITTLE WORK. Fourth form males scored significantly higher than either third or fifth form

Table 4.18

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours Classified According to Sex and Race: Sex by Race Interaction.

Test of Roots	F	df(hyp)	df(error)	p less than	R *
1 through 1	1.787	24.000	183.000	0.018	0.436

	Univariate F tests			Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients
Variable	F(1,206)	Mean Square	p less than	1
Refuses to obey	0.226	13.619	0.635	-0.195
Attacks pupil	2.563	218.249	0.111	0.238
Attacks teacher	0.206	4.610	0.650	0.011
Vandalism	0.157	6.384	0.692	-0.427
Swears	2.651	296.229	0.105	0.024
Screams/Yells	1.385	145.905	0.241	0.098
Throws objects	2.645	203.350	0.105	0.243
Tantrums	0.492	46.819	0.484	-0.519
Out of seat	5.877	688.321	0.016	0.637
Rude	3.288	308.318	0.071	0.192
Lies	3.776	493.872	0.053	0.229
Does little work	0.001	0.136	0.971	-0.175
Disrupts	0.004	0.390	0.949	-0.237
Dislikes school	3.584	510.377	0.060	0.189
Fights	2.166	172.968	0.143	0.156
Truants	1.474	192.260	0.226	0.138
Smokes	12.232	1379.887	0.001	0.518
Out of bounds	0.051	5.981	0.821	-0.328
Out of class vandalism	0.087	1.383	0.768	0.049
Steals	0.026	1.091	0.873	-0.032
Flouts uniform regulations	4.321	581.061	0.039	0.300
Drinks alcohol	0.158	0.225	0.692	-0.134
Physical attack	0.421	11.052	0.517	0.082
Obscene language	4.195	649.704	0.042	0.064

* Canonical correlation between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria.

Table 4.19

Sex by Race Interaction Effect: Subgroup Means* for the Significant Dependent Variables Arranged According to Sex and Race (from SR).

Behaviour	Sex	Race	
		European	Non-European
Out of seat	Male	$\bar{x}$ = 20.97 (91)	$\bar{x}$ = 16.68 (25)
	Female	$\bar{x}$ = 14.77 (74)	$\bar{x}$ = 19.35 (20)
Smokes	Male	$\bar{x}$ = 7.47 (91)	$\bar{x}$ = 3.20 (25)
	Female	$\bar{x}$ = 4.20 (74)	$\bar{x}$ = 13.50 (20)
Flouts uniform regulations	Male	$\bar{x}$ = 9.41 (91)	$\bar{x}$ = 11.20 (25)
	Female	$\bar{x}$ = 7.31 (74)	$\bar{x}$ = 17.25 (20)
Obscene language	Male	$\bar{x}$ = 10.54 (91)	$\bar{x}$ = 6.60 (25)
	Female	$\bar{x}$ = 9.32 (74)	$\bar{x}$ = 14.00 (20)

* The numbers in brackets after each mean indicate the number of subjects in each subgroup.

Table 4.20

Sex by Race Interaction Effect: Significant Simple Effects Results for Each Dependent Variable with F Ratios and Levels of Significance.

Behaviours	Simple Effects	F Ratio (df1,206)	Significance Level
Out of seat	European Males versus European Females	F = 5.808	(p<0.05)
Smoking	Non-European Females versus European Females	F = 10.808	(p<0.01)
	Non-European Females versus Non-European Males	F = 16.644	(p<0.01)
Flouts uniform regulations	Non-European Females versus European Females	F = 13.004	(p<0.01)
	Non-European Females versus Non-European Males	F = 4.817	(p<0.05)
Obscene language	Non-European Females versus European Females	F = 7.207	(p<0.01)

Sinple Effects analysis after Winer, 1971, pp.445-451.

Figure 4.1

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Race and Sex in Relation to Out of Seat Behaviour from SR.

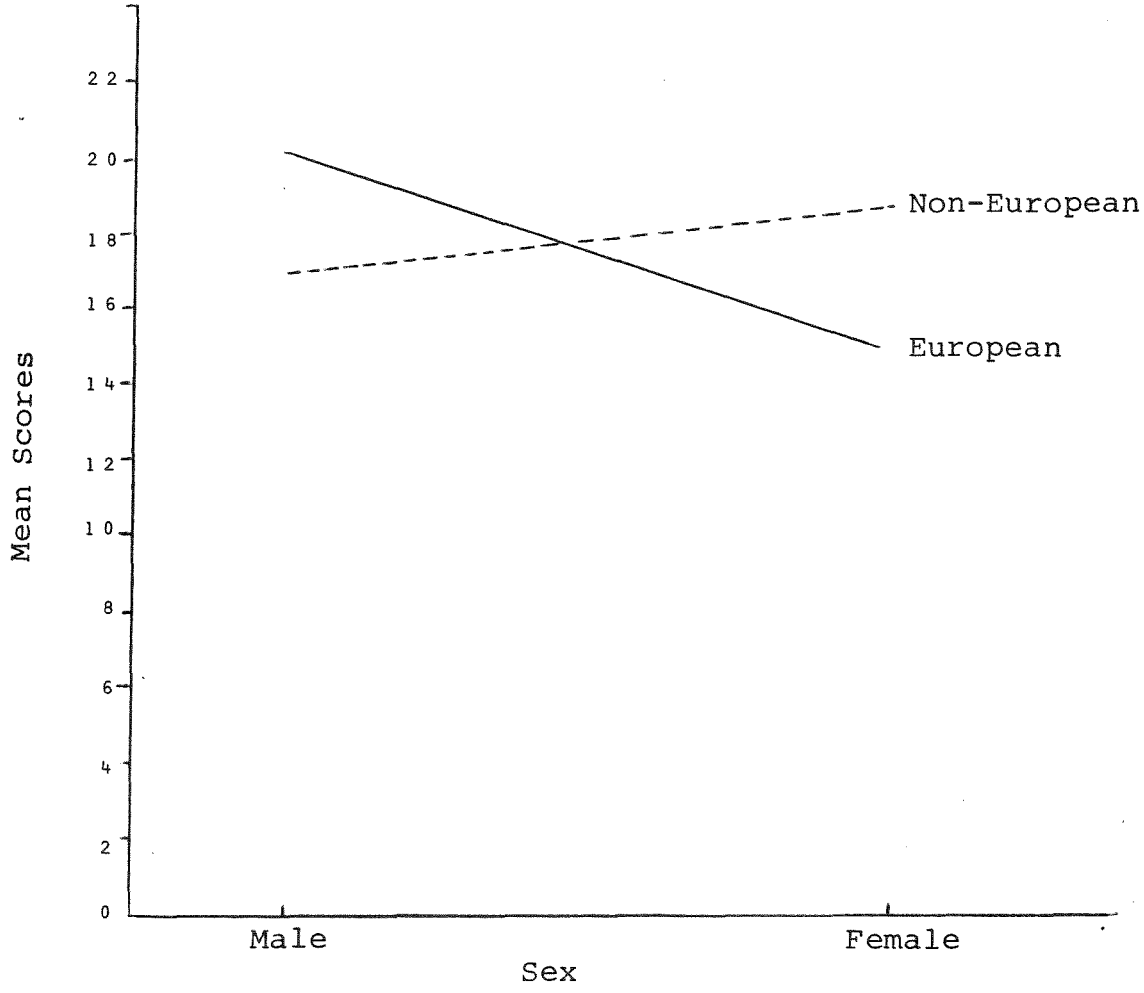


Figure 4.2

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Race and Sex in Relation to Smoking from SR.

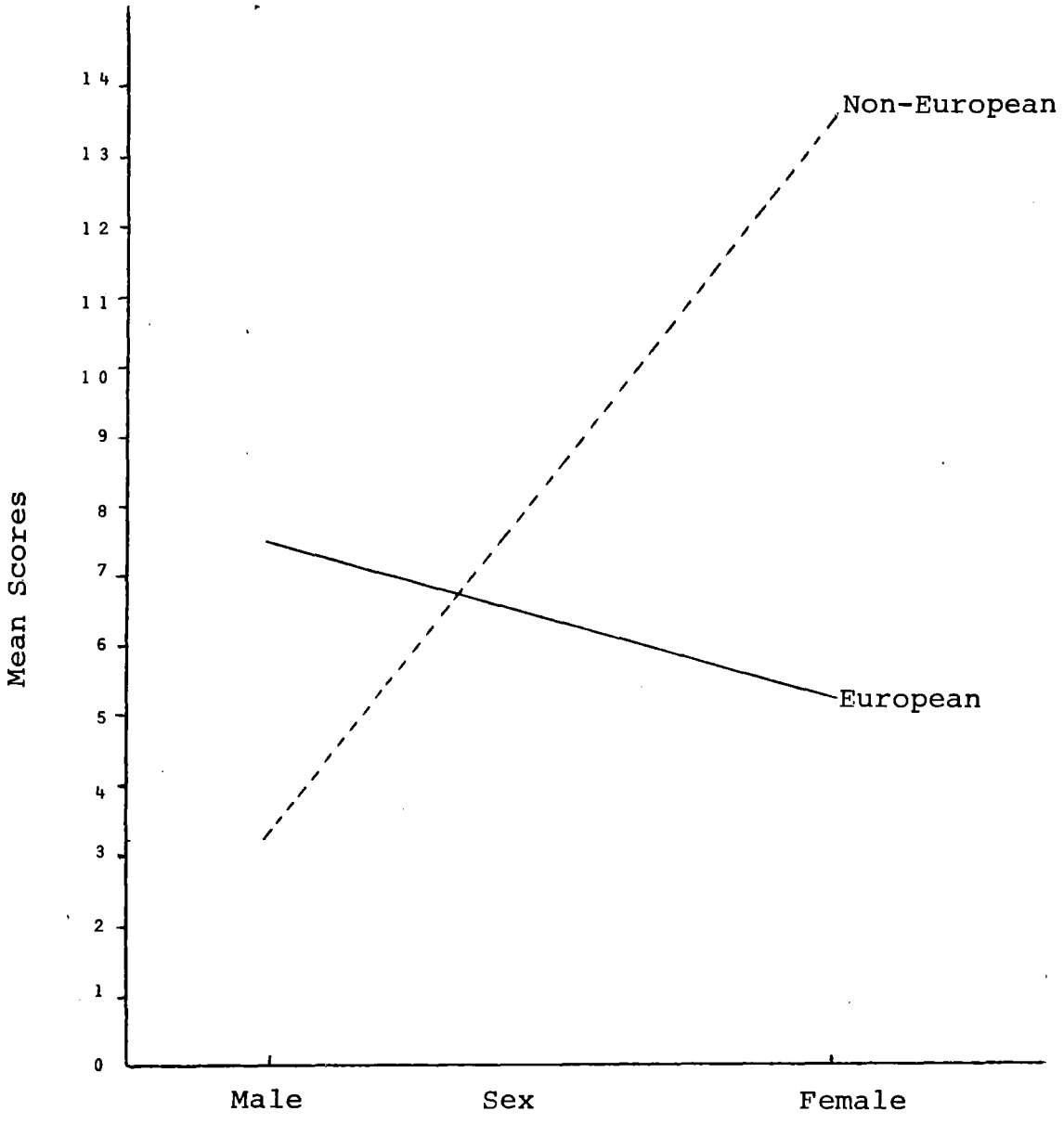


Figure 4.3

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Race and Sex in Relation to Flouting Uniform Regulations from SR.

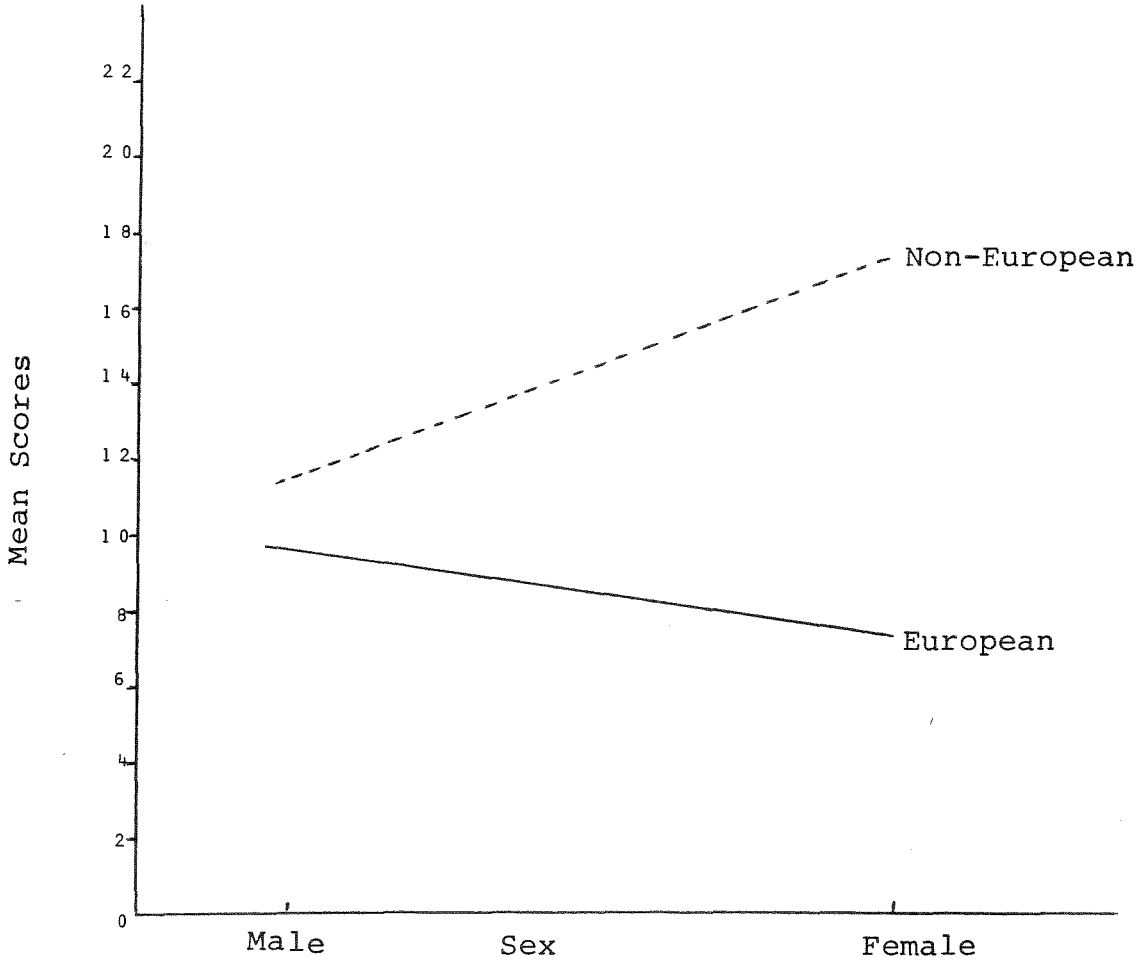
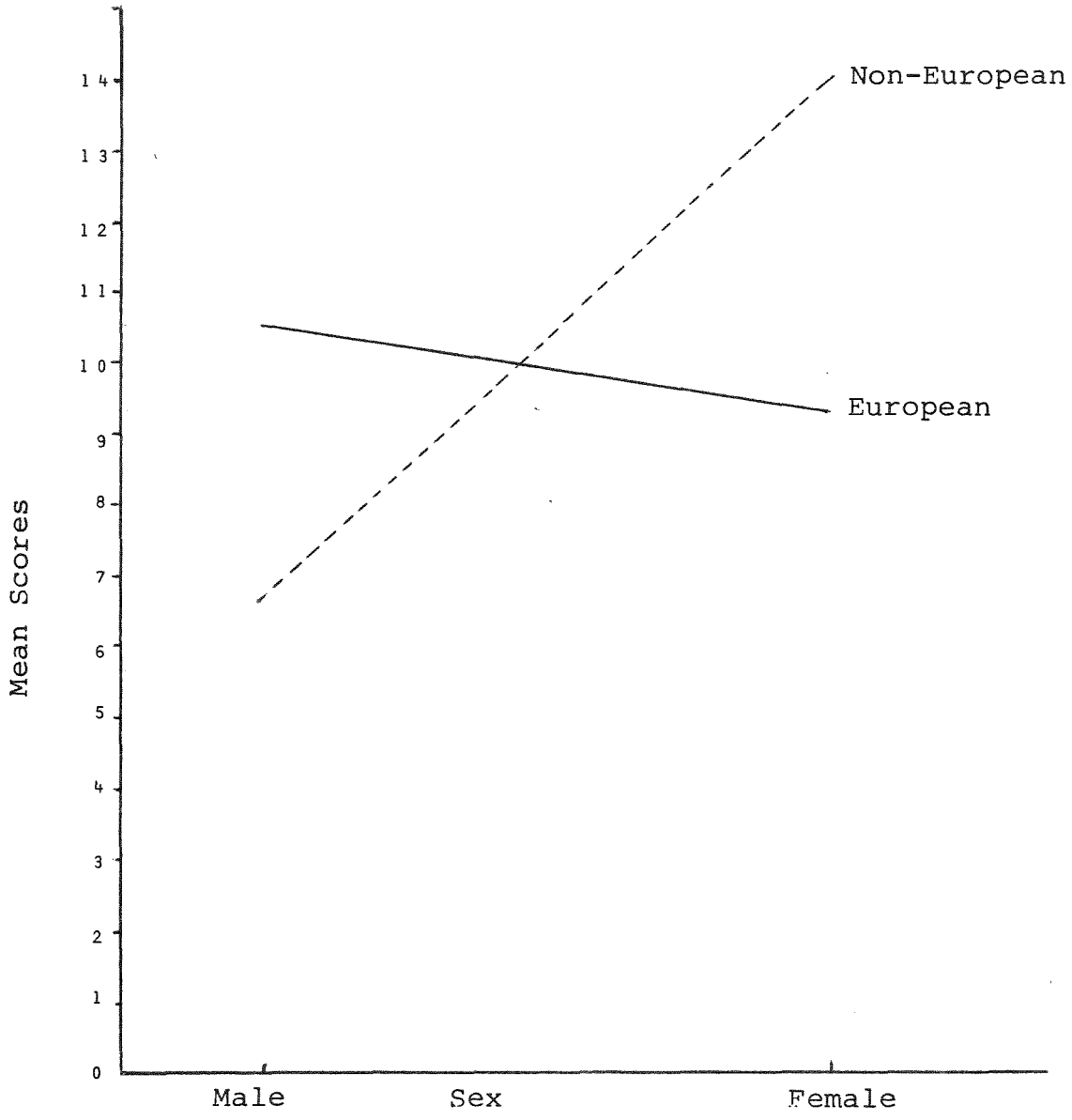


Figure 4.4

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Race and Sex in Relation to Obscene Language (Out of Class) from SR.



males ($F(2,191) = 5.589$ ($p<0.01$). However with the females fifth former scored significantly higher than either the third or fourth formers ($F(2,191) = 10.428$ ($p<0.01$).

In Form 3 males scored significantly higher than females ($F(2,191) = 21.607$ ($p<0.01$) and in Form 4 males again scored significantly higher than females ($F(2,191) = 10.209$ ($p<0.01$) (see Tables 4.21 to 4.23 and Figure 4.5).

Table 4.21

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours Classified According to Sex, Scholastic Aptitude and Formclass: Sex by Formclass Interaction.

Tests of Roots	F	df(hyp)	df(error)	p less than	R*
1 through 2	1.541	48.000	336.000	0.018	0.471
2 through 2	1.165	23.000	168.500	0.283	0.370

	Univariate F tests			Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients
Variable	F(2,191)	Mean Square	p less than	
Refuses to obey	0.756	45.160	0.471	.067
Attacks pupil	2.016	169.910	0.136	.199
Attacks teacher	0.515	11.831	0.599	-.182
Vandalism	0.714	29.007	0.491	-.209
Swears	1.132	121.072	0.324	.043
Screams/Yells	1.772	187.363	0.173	.298
Throws objects	1.224	93.465	0.296	.310
Tantrums	2.497	223.374	0.085	.518
Out of seat	1.411	164.244	0.247	-.490
Rude	0.411	36.989	0.663	.300
Lies	0.252	34.385	0.778	-.009
Does little work	5.764	584.530	0.004	.172
Disrupts	0.512	47.598	0.600	-.208
Dislikes school	0.337	51.378	0.715	-.174
Fights	0.019	1.455	0.981	.041
Truants	1.109	136.981	0.332	.122
Smokes	0.568	65.118	0.568	-.129
Out of bounds	0.884	96.704	0.415	.181
Out of class vandalism	0.051	17.456	0.352	-.225
Steals	0.103	4.401	0.902	.226
Flouts uniform regulations	2.115	298.123	0.123	-.394
Drinks alcohol	2.975	4.334	0.053	-.373
Physical attack	2.769	69.452	0.065	-.284
Obscene language	2.494	369.130	0.085	-.288

* Canonical Correlations between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria.

Table 4.22

Sex by Formclass Interaction Effect: Subgroup Means* for the Significant Dependent Variables Arranged According to Sex and Form (from SAC).

Behaviour	Sex	Form		
		Three	Four	Five plus
Does little work	Male	27.218 (33)	31.538 (56)	23.201 (26)
	Female	15.625 (23)	23.569 (37)	26.666 (34)

* The numbers in brackets after each mean indicate the number of subjects in each subgroup.

(NB. N = 209 because of an incorrect entry for one male on the computer sheet.)

Table 4.23

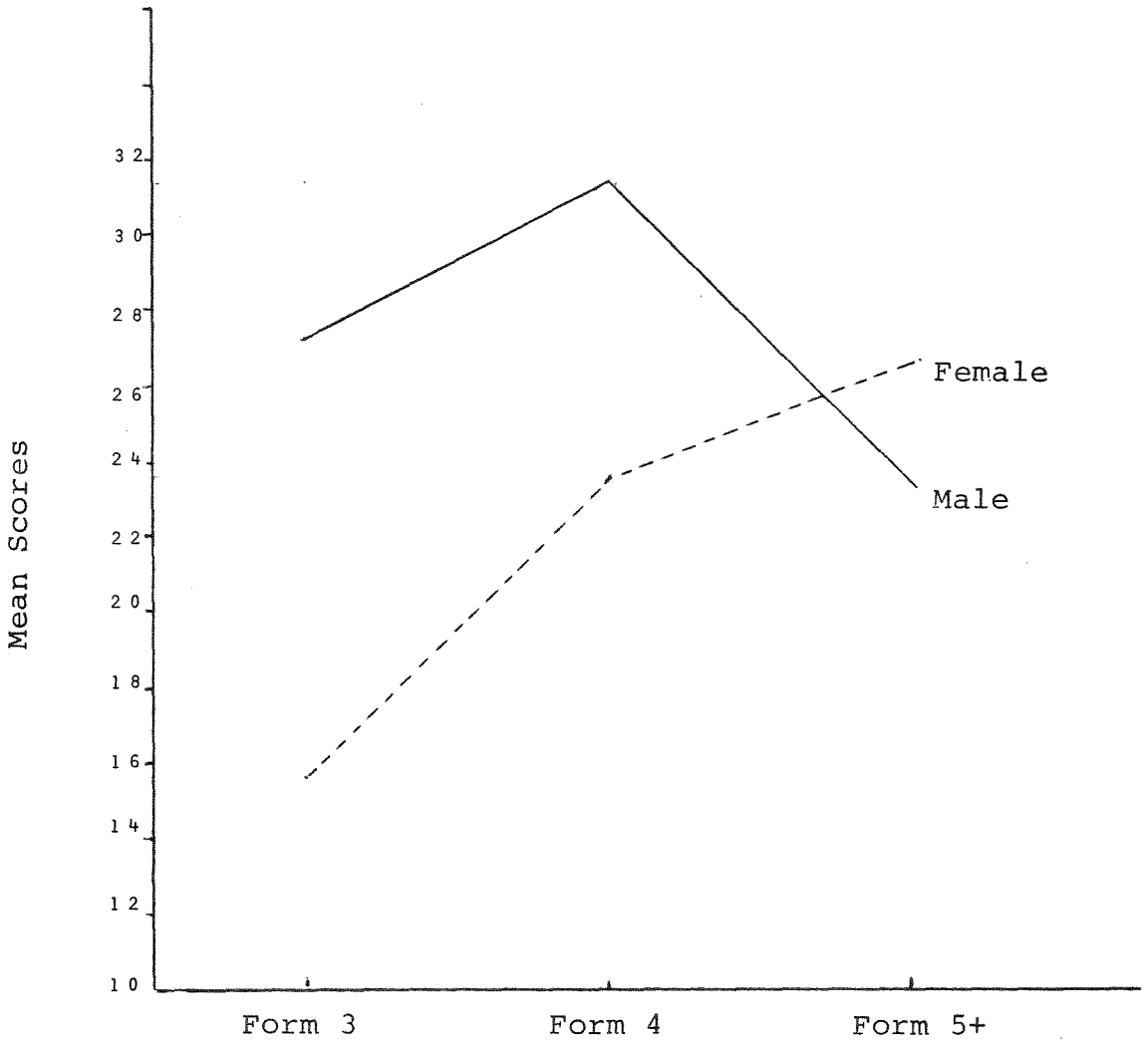
Sex by Formclass Interaction Effect: Significant Simple Effects Results for Each Dependent Variable with F Ratios and Levels of Significance (from SAC).

Behaviour	Simple Effects	F Ratio (df2,191)	Significance Level
Does little work	Male: Form 3 versus Form 4 versus Form 5	F = 5.589	(p<0.01)
	Female: Form 3 versus Form 4 versus Form 5	F = 10.428	(p<0.01)
	Form 3: Male versus Female	F = 21.607	(p<0.01)
	Form 4: Male versus Female	F = 10.209	(p<0.01)

Simple Effects analysis after Winer, 1971, pp. 445-451.

FIGURE 4.5

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Sex and Formclass in Relation to Doing Little Work from SAC.



Socio-Economic Status and Family Size

The Socio-Economic Status by Family Size Interaction is very difficult to interpret, partly because of the number of categories of pupil, and partly because no meaningful pattern appears to emerge. The results have been presented in Tables 4.24 and 4.25 and Figures 4.6 to 4.9. The interaction relates to the following behaviours: SWEARS, RUDE, LIES and OBSCENE LANGUAGE.

In summary, it appeared, on the evidence of this study, that the difficult behaviour of Christchurch secondary school pupils varied according to sex, race, scholastic aptitude and type of school, but in most cases on only 25 percent or less of the behaviours examined. Behaviour also varied in accordance with sex in interaction with race, sex in interaction with form, and socio-economic status in interaction with family size, but again in relation to only a small number of behaviours.

Table 4.24

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) of Behaviours classified according to Race, Socio-Economic Status and Family Size: Socio-Economic Status by Family Size Interaction.

Tests of Roots	F	df(hyp)	df(error)	p less than	R*
1 through 4	1.287	96.000	672.009	0.042	0.459
2 through 4	1.146	69.000	507.416	0.209	0.426
3 through 4	0.950	44.000	340.000	0.565	0.348
4 through 4	0.877	21.000	170.500	0.620	0.312

	Univariate F tests			Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients
Variable	F(4,192)	Mean Square	p less than	
Refuses to obey	1.378	84.748	0.243	0.058
Attacks pupil	0.240	21.364	0.915	0.133
Attacks teacher	0.780	17.550	0.540	0.382
Vandalism	1.144	44.858	0.337	-0.204
Swears	2.473	261.676	0.046	0.252
Screams/Yells	0.976	107.444	0.422	-0.509
Throws objects	0.186	15.832	0.946	-0.096
Tantrums	1.448	139.972	0.220	0.137
Out of seat	0.922	114.272	0.452	0.290
Rude	2.665	250.328	0.034	0.589
Lies	3.139	382.689	0.016	0.118
Does little work	1.910	194.891	0.110	0.475
Disrupts	0.480	45.775	0.751	-0.605
Dislikes school	0.846	118.149	0.498	0.015
Fights	0.798	65.769	0.528	0.158
Truants	0.478	61.187	0.752	0.060
Smokes	1.383	159.167	0.241	-0.244
Out of bounds	1.611	179.024	0.173	0.109
Out of class vandalism	0.787	11.743	0.535	0.293
Steals	1.981	84.806	0.099	-0.107
Flouts uniform regulations	0.616	82.721	0.652	-0.170
Drinks alcohol	0.396	0.581	0.811	-0.509
Physical attack	0.871	23.391	0.483	0.029
Obscene language	3.053	456.862	0.018	-0.044

* Canonical Correlations between artificial ANOVA variables and criteria.

Table 4.25

Socio-Economic Status by Family Size Interaction Effect: Subgroup Means* for the Significant Dependent Variables Arranged According to Socio-Economic Status and Family Size.

Behaviour	Family Size	Socio-Economic Status		
		Level 1-3	Level 4-6	Solo Parent
Swears	1-2	15.68 (10)	17.08 (13)	11.00 (7)
	3-4	21.70 (32)	12.44 (54)	16.77 (31)
	5+	17.11 (24)	14.86 (23)	6.36 (16)
Rude	1-2	17.062 (10)	18.000 (13)	22.613 (7)
	3-4	16.041 (32)	18.601 (54)	15.987 (31)
	5+	28.000 (24)	18.850 (23)	15.182 (16)
Lies	1-2	14.687 (10)	8.550 (13)	21.909 (7)
	3-4	20.833 (32)	11.565 (54)	5.394 (31)
	5+	23.083 (24)	16.190 (23)	9.091 (16)
Obscene language	1-2	2.5000 (10)	6.333 (13)	9.659 (7)
	3-4	19.166 (32)	8.333 (54)	7.960 (31)
	5+	3.333 (24)	15.990 (23)	2.272 (16)

* The numbers in brackets after each mean indicate the number of subjects in each subgroup.

FIGURE 4.6

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Socio-Economic Level and Family Size in Relation to Swearing (In Class) from REF.

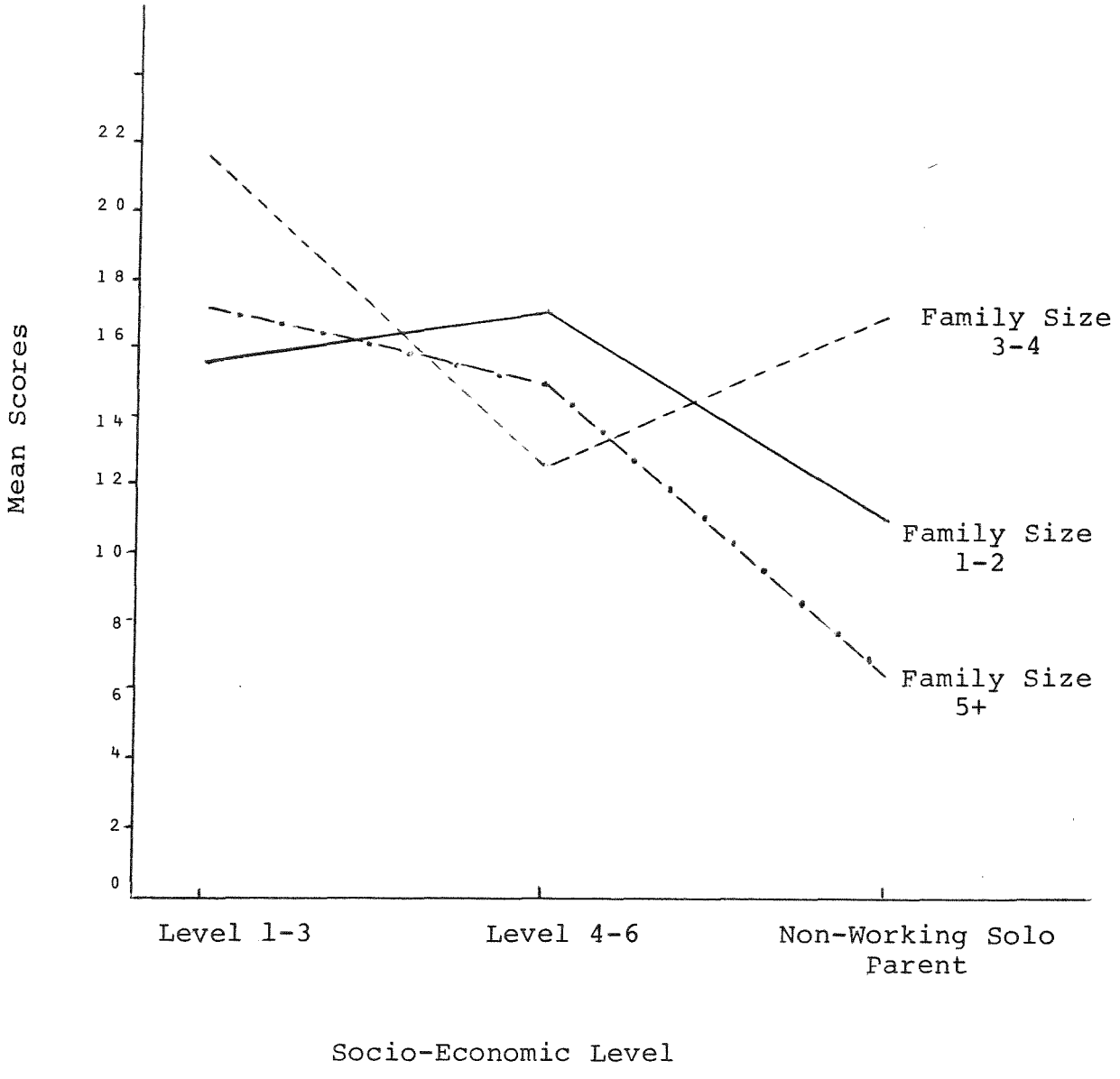


FIGURE 4.7

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Socio-Economic Level and Family Size in Relation to Rudeness from REF

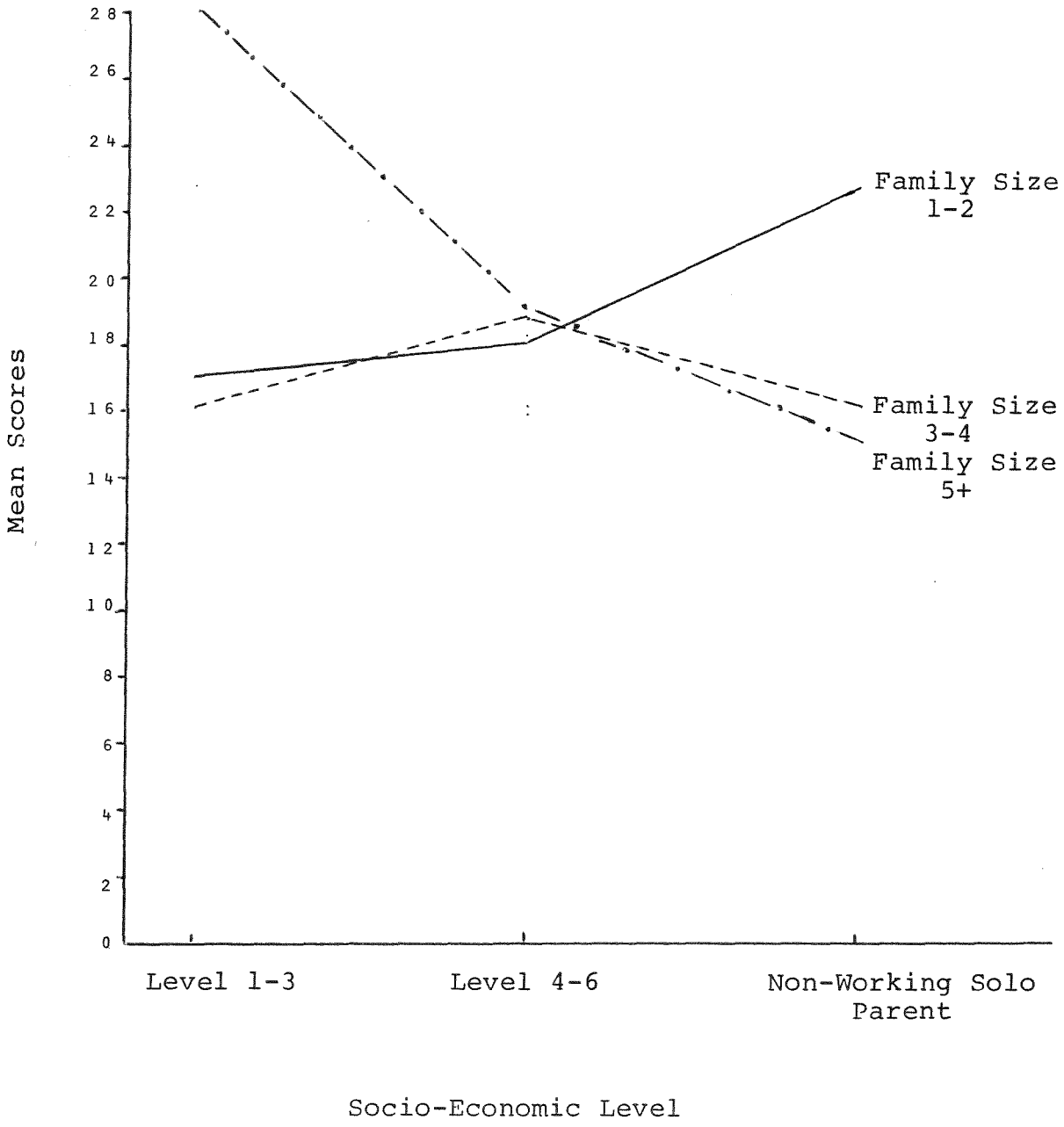


Figure 4.8

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Socio-Economic Level and Family Size in Relation to Lying from REF.

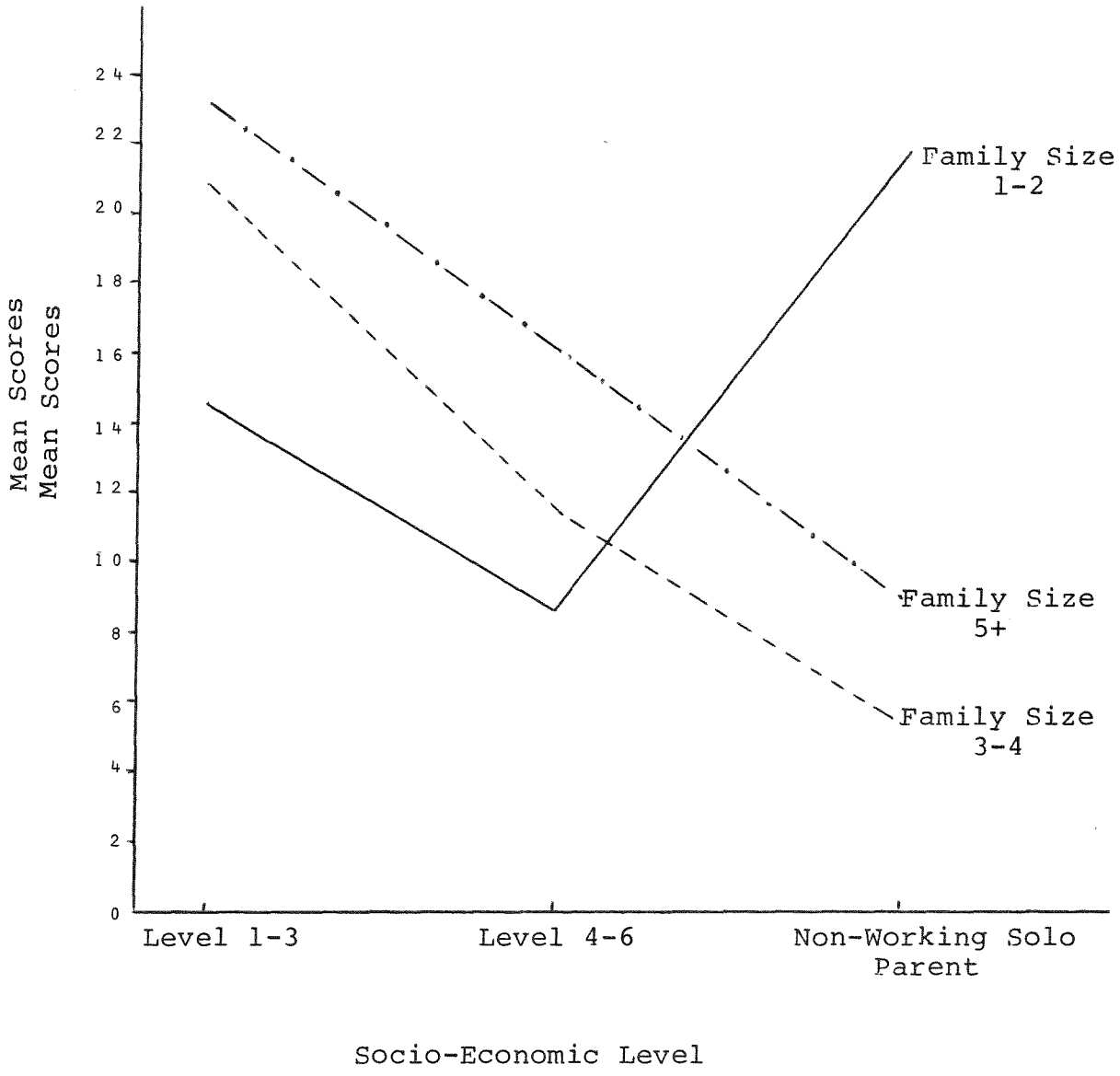
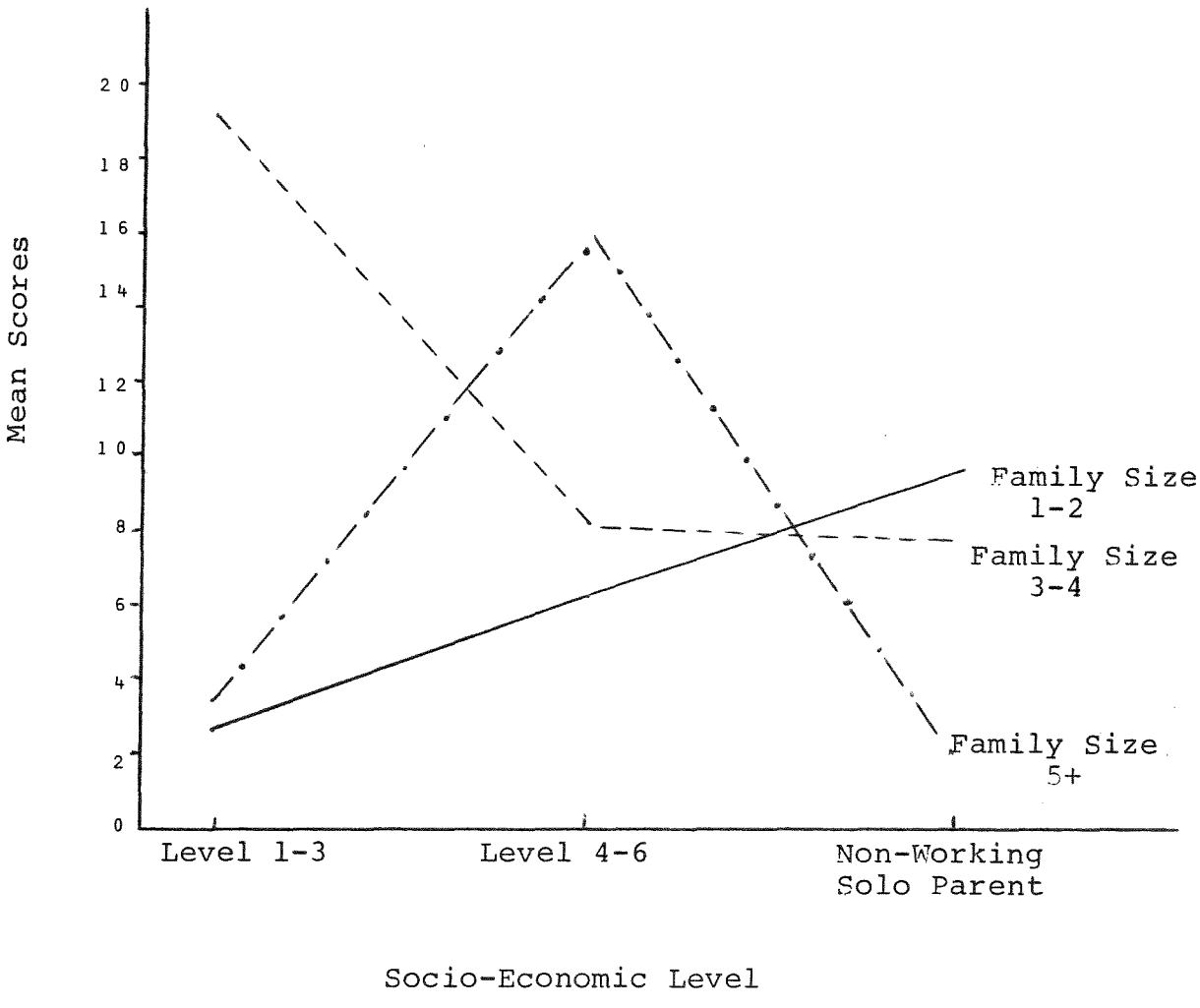


FIGURE 4.9

Graph Showing the Interaction Between Socio-Economic Level and Family Size in Relation to Obscene Language (Out of Class) from REF.



PART III: STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH SENIOR STAFF

A structured one-hour interview was conducted with the senior staff of each school to sample their perceptions of the problem. Influenza and the P.P.T.A. Principals' Conference affected attendance at these interviews. However 6 Principals, 3 Associate Principals, 14 Deputy-Principals, 13 Senior Masters or Mistresses, 16 Guidance Counsellors, 25 Deans (Heads of Schools,Tutors), 1 Visiting Teacher and 1 Guidance Teacher put forward their views. The interview schedule forms Appendix F.

Proportion of Difficult Pupils

If very difficult pupils are considered, proportions estimated varied from 1% to 5% of the total roll. Schools in the west and south of the city reported a declining proportion of difficult pupils, perhaps because of changes in their contributing areas, while several other schools considered 1980 to be an atypical year. Some schools felt that although the numbers of difficult pupils had not altered significantly staff were better able to cope than previously.

The Most Difficult Behaviour

Contrary to what might be expected, sharply defined acts such as serious vandalism, theft or drinking were considered easier to deal with than persistent more low-key acts of defiance. The exception to this would be serious acts of physical violence. Otherwise, because of the clear-cut nature of the offences, they were regarded as more isolated acts clearly calling for the use of recognised sanctions.

Three categories of more difficult behaviour were delineated. (These are quite apart from the disturbed pupil category where the disturbance is expressed through withdrawal or passivity.) Overwhelmingly the major concern was persistent, blatant defiance and disruption, where the frequency rather than the enormity of the misbehaviour wears teachers down. Pupils in this category annoy teachers because they refuse to co-operate, they question authority, they do not respond to efforts to change them, and they interfere with the learning opportunities of other pupils. Some such pupils were referred to as the 'new urban guerillas' who work subversively for the overthrow of authority by manipulating others into disruptive behaviour.

In the second category were the persistent truants. Checking on them is most time-consuming but is accepted as a social responsibility because criminal activity is often associated with the truancy. Senior staff were frustrated by the lack of effective legal sacntions in cases of persistent truancy, especially where parental condoning, or even encouragement, was evident.

A third category was the small number of pupils who are diagnosed eventually as having serious psychiatric problems or personality disorders. Schools resent what appears to them to be a lack of warning from parents or social workers when such pupils are enrolled. They resent the placement in an ordinary school of those who are considered disturbed enough to have been placed in McKenzie School for primary schooling, but who are removed from there only because of the age limits which apply.

Another source of concern was the anti-social 'at risk' child whom the school sees as in need of care and assistance, the provision of such being hindered by the upholding of parental rights rather than parental responsibilities. Other concerns included Maori or Samoan children grouping together as an alientated class, the underground bullying and intimidation in the playground which is difficult to pin down or stop, the risk now involved in leaving property unattended even if it is in a locked locker, the lack of commitment to work of a significant number of seniors, and the disruptive effects of those who boast about and gain status from frequent Children's Board or Children and Young Persons' Court appearances. One school was concerned about the amount of time spent discussing such pupils with social workers and writing reports for the court. Often such pupils did not misbehave at school.

Patterns

In general, disruptive behaviour was more prevalent in the junior school amongst pupils of lower ability from disturbed family backgrounds. However, increasing, numbers of fifth formers were displaying difficult behaviour as they returned reluctantly to school because they were unable to obtain work. The schools with the highest numbers of Maori and Pacific Island pupils were concerned that they form a disproportionate number of those who are difficult. Girls in the fourth form were considered an especially difficult group to handle. Male teachers felt frustrated by the prohibition on the use of corporal punishment with girls, some of whom are exceptionally defiant. Another

concern was that difficult behaviour is evident at a younger age. Some pupils arrive from intermediate schools already well-versed in disruption. In three of the four single-sex schools, pupils who are difficult are often of high intelligence. Pupils who transfer from other schools in Christchurch or other parts of New Zealand are often difficult when the transfer is a result of marital breakup. An increase in physical violence amongst Form 3 girls was also causing concern.

Causes

(a) School System. The large size of schools and classes was cited as a possible cause. It was felt that large numbers mean that it is difficult to find the time to meet individual needs and that vulnerable pupils in particular, find it harder to form satisfying relationships in a large group.

The complexity of the school organisation was considered a difficulty for some, particularly the less able. A whole day's attendance may be too much for some of them.

A frequently suggested cause of unsettled behaviour was disruption to the timetable caused by the proliferation of in-service training, outdoor education, field trips and cultural activities. Relieving teachers can rarely fill the gaps adequately and as pupils are now less self-disciplined they are prepared to take advantage of relievers (and of unconfident teachers).

Some senior staff considered that a number of pupils begin secondary schooling ill-prepared to be there. They may lack the basic skills, especially in reading and mathe-

matics and then cover their sense of failure by acting out in order to gain peer approval. Many are not ready to cope with having a different teacher for every subject. They need the security of a base room and a relationship with one teacher. It was considered that the loose structure of primary schools provides inadequate preparation for secondary schooling. In particular, the shortness of the time spent in intermediates was seen as providing an artificial, unsettling break.

The curriculum came in for criticism, parts of it being considered irrelevant for some. It was pointed out that some pupils did not even regard transition to work programmes as relevant. The assumption that compulsory attendance and a compulsory core of subjects is good for everyone was challenged. It was suggested that innovations in curricula are often tried out with able teachers whereas less able teachers are unable to carry them out adequately.

The multitude of tasks teachers are expected to perform puts pressure on them and saps energy that could be used in coping in the classroom. It was considered that teacher training should foster self-awareness and self-confidence, and classroom management procedures rather than the acquisition of content.

It was suggested that the school creates frustration in pupils in that it encourages questioning during academic work and the assumption of responsibility on school councils etc. but gives no ultimate responsibility to pupils, who having it in some spheres, expect it in all.

One school suggested that teachers have emphasized discussion methods in learning without first ensuring that pupils have acquired sufficient knowledge, skills and maturity. Thus talking, rather than listening and reasoning, has been encouraged. Pupils have become reliant on the group and developed less individual responsibility. Teachers have encouraged group learning in discussion groups but have measured individual performance in examinations.

Finally, it was suggested that many pupils desire entertainment, freedom, adventure and excitement. The school cannot compete with an 'exciting' out-of-school life. It becomes an unwelcome interruption to 'real' living.

(b) Teachers. Some teachers were seen as unsuited to teaching because of their personalities. Those receiving particular mention were the rigid 'confrontationalists' who see everything as black or white. They may be intolerant and insensitive to children's feelings.

Some teachers really dislike children. Even where there is a basic liking of children, this may turn sour when serious control problems occur. Many teachers lack experience of life in the lower socio-economic groups. They lack awareness of the pressures many pupils face. They have been successful at school themselves, and on teaching sections while in training they are often shielded from realistic experience with difficult pupils.

The inexperienced teachers, in particular, may lack any depth of self-awareness. They may also be unaware of how they react to others or how others see them. Those who

need to be liked by their pupils may lack the confidence to assert themselves to maintain consistent standards of behaviour. Some are still very insecure as people. Yet experience apparently fails to teach some teachers much about human nature. They may refuse to accept the responsibility for teaching pupils who have learning and social difficulties, preferring those who are academically able.

Teachers, of course, are human beings too. They suffer from personal and family pressures which may affect their teaching. Like their pupils, teachers need positive reinforcement whereas much of what they receive tends to be negative. Often it is their mistakes rather than their achievements which are recognised.

(c) Personal, Family, Community. Although the schools were prepared to be frank in their self-criticism they could not fail to acknowledge the influence of outside pressures.

Some problems reside in the pupils themselves. The sheer process of growing up is stressful for some, especially if they are less mature than their age-mates. Others bring a deep sense of social, family and educational failure into secondary school and compensate by attracting negative attention. Many crave attention of any sort. Others lack goals or have such heavy emotional pressures on them outside school that it is very difficult to concentrate on academic learning. For some the need to sit still for long periods is very difficult.

Without exception schools saw family problems spilling over into the school. One school produced figures to show that over the last seven years 74 percent of the pupils who had

appeared before the disciplinary committee of the Board of Govenors, been suspended or been expelled came from homes judged to be disturbed or grossly inadequate. Proportions varied annually from 64 to 100 percent. Another school maintained that three out of every five children from solo parent homes experienced some difficulties, especially where the parent (usually mother) was anxious and depressed.

There was a feeling that compared to the past, parents today spend less time with their children and expect them to accept considerable responsibility at an early age. The parents are too involved in work and social activities.

Some pupils react by seeking from the school the attention they should really get at home. There was also a feeling that more parents now feel inadequate in the parental role and even frightened of their children. They want the school to substitute for them. The parent-child relationship was seen as more stressful now than in the past.

Some children replicate the alienation their parents feel. They lack commitment to goals, as they see themselves as powerless. This is increasing as unemployment rises and job placement becomes more difficult. A general uncertainty about the future is more prevalent.

Other pupils are encouraged to be non-conforming because the values of their homes conflict with those of the schools, and their peers also reinforce anti-social behaviour. There was a suggestion that there is an increasing lack of shame in the community, that more anti-social behaviour is now accepted.

Most senior staff saw multiple and complex causes for difficult behaviour by secondary school pupils. Most considered that their schools tried very hard, but that they felt frustrated by a lack of community appreciation and support.

Overall Effect on the School

A common complaint was that difficult pupils have an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Difficult pupils affect staff, pupils, parents, and the public image of the school.

The effect on staff was considered particularly damaging because ultimately pupils suffer from it. Difficult pupils wear staff down and lower morale. Those having problems vent their frustrations on their colleagues. They become disheartened and feel unsupported by senior staff when no quick solutions are forthcoming. Difficult pupils tire teachers and make long terms seem even longer. They present the teacher with increased strain, with lack of satisfaction because of lack of return for effort and ultimately, therefore, with a poorer quality of life.

Pupils generally suffer because teachers are diverted from teaching. The pupils often resent the way they are prevented from learning by the disruptions. They resent the way difficult pupils appear to be able to misbehave with impunity for a long time before anything effective happens. Many are made insecure, unhappy and fearful by difficult pupils especially when intimidated by them. Some who are weak are drawn into constellations of disruptive pupils.

Parents become angry and fearful for their own children. They are sympathetic towards the difficulties teachers face but want their children to be protected from interruptions to learning, from physical attack, and from intimidation. They, too, become disillusioned by the length of time a school takes while it tries to do its best for a disruptive pupil.

Schools fear that their public image is often based on the actions of a disruptive minority. Staff and other pupils become stigmatised because of this.

Effective Measures

Most schools felt strongly that the creation of a guidance network had made a significant difference. Now staff had access to information about pupils and felt supported. A particularly valuable feature was the weekly meeting of senior staff in the network. All schools felt that increasing contact with parents was also very productive. Where parents co-operate the problem is often soon solved.

Other measures considered effective were:

1. Withdrawal rooms if staffing and room were adequate. They take the heat off classroom teachers.
2. Alternative learning programmes or opportunity rooms where individual programmes are provided.
3. Staff volunteering to tutor pupils who seek such help.
4. An appearing list or log book which served as an early warning system and ensured that certain pupils who needed it got daily attention.
5. Staff training especially in listening and communication skills, and in classroom management.

6. An alternative programme (including individual academic work plans and work exploration) for reluctant fifth form returnees.
7. Daily report cards, especially where parents took an interest in them.
8. Simple practical measures like requiring a pupil to do nothing all day. However this was effective only if the pupil really wanted to learn.
9. Smaller classes in Forms 3 and 4, all below 28 and most 24-26.
10. Flexibility over electives so that changes were possible.
11. Keeping third and fourth form classes together rather than having them regroup for electives. A school which previously split pupils up for electives found that allowing the class to stay together and reinforcing class identity on a class camp had a strong stabilising effect. The pupils appeared to feel secure when identifying with a particular group.
12. Truancy was dealt with by keeping a close check on attendance and, in one school, by having the principal check all absence notes as pupils brought them to her.
13. In some cases a change of class or of school was seen as effective.

A number of schools saw a clearly articulated school philosophy as an important element. Where the expectations of the school are explicit, pupils gain security and support from knowing where they stand. Even those pupils whose out-of-school behaviour is most anti-social can respond to firm limits set in school.

Staff, too, respond to the philosophy of the school. An open, consultative management style where teachers are valued and supported was cited by one school as influential in helping teachers cope with difficult pupils.

Suggestions for Improvements

There was an overwhelming desire for improved staffing ratios so that an overall reduction in class size could be made and opportunities for one-to-one teaching provided. Schools also favoured greater flexibility so that a shorter school day, different curricula, remedial work, flexible age limits, wide opportunities for re-entry to education later in life, a wider age range in the secondary school, or alternative recreation programmes for 13 to 16 year olds could be possible.

Increased parent-school communication was seen as vital. As the school is often the place that is aware of the need for family counselling it should be able to provide it or refer to agencies which can. It was considered necessary to modify the home conditions of some pupils if they were to have any chance of academic success.

The need for staff support and training was emphasized. In particular teachers were seen to need training in relating to others, in group dynamics and in classroom management. It was felt that teachers would be able to do their job better and with less strain if they could have one non-contact period per day.

The senior staff wanted to see more community awareness, recognition, and help. The community should not be allowed to ignore what damage some families are doing to

the children. Intervention needs to come much earlier. The creation of work exploration opportunities and more jobs for school leavers were also seen as community responsibilities.

Social agencies came in for criticism at several schools. It was felt that their deployment could be more effective if, for example, one social worker were able to work intensively with one family rather than having the present ineffective multi-agency involvement. Schools particularly wanted to be able to consult a psychiatrist, clinical psychologist, or medical practitioner when they felt a pupil had a psychiatric or severe personality disorder. There was also a request for more honesty and support from social workers when a very difficult pupil is enrolled. Location of a team of support workers in the community rather than in a centralised office was favoured.

A reduction in school size was favoured by some but only if ancilliary services such as counsellors and deans could be retained.

Most schools favoured having a withdrawal facility within their own school provided it was adequately staffed and a room was available. It was felt that a well-structured programme should be undertaken in such a room. The major advantage in having a withdrawal room was the relief it can give to classroom teachers.

Reaction to the prospect of an out-of-school facility for very difficult pupils varied. Six schools were against it, because it could cater for so few pupils, they would be

unfortunately labelled, they would lack good social models, and it would put a great strain on any teacher running it.

Six schools were in favour of such a facility for the most difficult because of the relief it would bring to teachers. Several saw the very positive pupil response to Pitcaithly House programmes as an indicator of the worth of such a place. It was also felt that entry could be carefully controlled whereas within a school it would be harder to screen pupils for a withdrawal room and some could be misplaced, reflecting a teacher's inadequacies rather than an overall pattern of misbehaviour on the part of the pupil. There was a strong plea for a residential facility. A number of adolescents, and not merely those who act out their distress, request and need removal from appalling home situations.

Two schools had a mixed reaction to an out-of-school facility, appreciating its benefits for teachers but doubting its value for the pupils thus removed from ordinary schools.

Some schools would like to see some strengthening of the suspension procedures and tougher legal sanctions for truancy. There is a need for balance between maintaining the authority of the school and providing natural justice.

Several schools suggested that needs rather than economics should determine the structure of the educational system.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that all schools demonstrated a caring attitude towards their pupils. They

were especially adamant about desiring to help the type of pupil who is outside the scope of this inquiry, namely the pupil who reacts to severe family stress by withdrawal within the school or by anti-social behaviour outside it. There was a real frustration expressed that while there is a proliferation of helping agencies few interventions appear to be intensive enough to bring about significant changes in circumstances or psychological well-being for such pupils. Teachers are aware of tremendous needs and feel powerless to do much to meet them.

The picture emerged of schools wanting to do the best for all their pupils and asking only for a little extra staffing, a little more flexibility and some community support.

(Transcripts of the interviews with senior staff are available from Dr J.J. Small, Education Department, University of Canterbury.)

PART IV: THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SCALE

As difficult behaviour is socially defined, it seemed logical to hypothesize that difficult pupils would be clearly differentiated from well-behaved pupils in social development or adjustment. The Social Development Scale (Pilot Version; Turnbull, 1980) completed by classroom teachers for each of 42 difficult pupils from the upper quartile of the total sample and 42 matched well-behaved pupils did show a marked differentiation between the two groups. It was, unfortunately, not possible to have the original 104 pupils rated as some had left school.

On the original full scale of 62 items, the difficult pupils obtained significantly lower scores than the well-behaved pupils. On the revised version of 48 items (in which the most notable difference is the withdrawal of most of the items relating to shyness and the avoidance of social interaction), the distinction still stood.

The Social Development Scale has two subscales selected on a logical basis. Again the difficult pupils were clearly differentiated from the well-behaved pupils in Social Skills and Socialisation. The difficult pupils obtained significantly lower scores on the Social Skills subscale. This subscale contains items relating to social skills such as appropriate distancing (item 17), eye contact (item 19), appropriate greetings (item 18) and pro-social behaviours such as punctuality (item 24), taking turns (item 27) and honouring commitments (item 23). The difficult pupils were rated by their teachers as significantly less well versed in these behaviours than the well-behaved pupils.

On the Socialization subscale, the difficult pupils also obtained significantly lower scores. This subscale contains items relating to the responsiveness of individuals to the requests and reactions of others and items relating to anti-social behaviour. Thus the difficult pupils were rated by their teachers as less likely to comply with requests and directions (item 39), to accept praise (item 34), to co-operate (item 45), or to accept the turning down of a request (item 41), for example, but more likely to steal (item 57), interrupt (item 49), damage property (item 59) or act violently (item 62), etc.

The complete results of the administration of the Social Development Scale form Table 4.26 .

Table 4.26

Social Development Scale

	Difficult N = 42	Well-behaved N = 42	t values
Full scale	$\bar{x}$ 194.333 sd 26.412 ra 124-285	$\bar{x}$ 267.333 sd 30.836 ra 153-306	11.65***
Revised scale	$\bar{x}$ 145.714 sd 42.346 ra 83-231	$\bar{x}$ 208.761 sd 25.858 ra 110-239	8.236***
Social skills subscale	$\bar{x}$ 44.095 sd 10.896 ra 23-73	$\bar{x}$ 64.142 sd 11.485 ra 33-79	8.209***
Sociali-sation subscale	$\bar{x}$ 97.142 sd 24.746 ra 34-155	$\bar{x}$ 140.595 sd 12.820 ra 73-155	10.105***

t (onetailed) (df41)

* $p<0.05$

** $p<0.01$

*** $p<0.001$

PART V: THE SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale was administered to 32 of the upper quartile of difficult pupils and 37 of the well-behaved pupils during the initial stages of the structured interview with them. Unfortunately it was not possible to administer it to all 52 pupils in the difficult or all 52 in the well-behaved groups because a number of children had left or changed school. Several refused to participate. The 10 item scale was scored on a 1-4 system with high scores representing high self-esteem and low scores representing low self-esteem. The difficult pupils obtained significantly lower scores than the well-behaved pupils.

In accordance with Rosenberg's initial scoring method the number of responses of agreement with low self-esteem items (items 2, 5, 6, 8 and 9) was also scored. In this case the difficult pupils obtained significantly higher scores than the well-behaved.

If three levels of self-esteem are postulated with scores up to and including 13 indicating low self-esteem, scores between 14 and 26 indicating moderate self-esteem and scores between 27 and 40 high self-esteem the two groups were again differentiated. No pupils in either group fell into the low self-esteem category but, whereas the majority (75.7%) of the well-behaved pupils were in the high self-esteem category, the majority of the difficult pupils (56.2%) were in the moderate category. However a considerable proportion of the difficult pupils (43.8%) did fall into the high self-esteem category.

Results for the Self-Esteem Scale are contained in Table 4.27.

Table 4.27

Self-Esteem Scale

	Difficult N = 32	Well-behaved N = 37	t values
Score	$\bar{x}$ 25.125 sd 3.247 ra 16-31	$\bar{x}$ 28.000 sd 3.229 ra 17-37	t 3.676**
No. Low Self-Esteem Responses Agreed with	$\bar{x}$ 4.718 sd 1.431 ra 1-10	$\bar{x}$ 2.729 sd 1.735 ra 0.8	2.127*
% Low >13	0%	0%	
% Moderate 14-26	56.2% (N=18)	24.3% (N= 9)	
% High 27-40	43.8% (N=14)	75.7% (N=28)	

t(one-tailed)
(df's 31 and 36)

* $p<0.05$

** $p<0.01$

*** $p<0.001$

PART VI: THE STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH PUPILS

Through structured interviews an attempt was made to find out how difficult pupils compared with well-behaved pupils in their perceptions of themselves, of the opinions others held of them, of what constituted difficult behaviour and how they felt about it, and of what solutions they could suggest (see Appendix I). In her interviews the researcher obtained fuller answers than the other two interviewers as most of those interviewed knew her well.

Six of the interview questions examined self-perceptions and awareness of the perceptions of significant others.

A. SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF OTHERS

1. What sort of a person are you?

Positive self-descriptions predominated in both the difficult and well-behaved samples with 57.58 percent of the former and 71.05 percent of the latter so describing themselves. However, whereas no well-behaved pupils gave wholly negative responses, 18.18 percent of the difficult pupils did. Roughly equal proportions of the difficult (24.24 percent) and well-behaved pupils (28.95 percent) replied with mixed self descriptions (see Figure 4.10).

The most frequently used adjectives in the whole sample (N = 71) were:

Happy (26) 36.62%	(Difficults 9, Well-behaved 17)
Easy to get on with (8) 11.27%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 7)
Friendly (7) 9.86%	(Difficults 3, Well-behaved 4)
Average/ordinary (7) 9.86%	(Difficults 4, Well-behaved 3)

Quiet (6) 8.45% (Difficults 1, Well-behaved 5)
Helpful (6) 8.45% (Difficults 2, Well-behaved 4)

(A complete list of the adjectives used can be found in Appendix J.)

Both groups used similar terms but the trend for more of the well-behaved pupils to use the more common positive adjectives was evident. A selection of responses illustrates the trend, with no wholly negative self-descriptions coming from the well-behaveds but some strongly negative self-statements coming from the difficult pupils.

Difficult Pupils.

A Maori. A person who gets into trouble. I hate myself.

I'm difficult. I cause trouble and worry people.

I'm not ugly. I'm not dumb. I can do things like I'm good at trampolining. I'm not a mental am I? I'm nervous. I've got a sort of power. I can put curses on people.

I'm sensitive...sometimes too sensitive to things... sometimes demanding but kind to the old people and that... kind to them and helpful,...understand their feelings.

Well-behaved Pupils.

I'm friendly and happy.

I care about people when they're upset. I like to help them if they're in trouble. I've got a lot of friends...but I can be a troublemaker.

2. If a friend was describing you, what do you think he/she would say about you?

Again responses were predominantly positive with 69.7 percent of the difficult pupils, and 78.95 percent of the well-behaved pupils perceiving their friends' reactions to them as favourable. Just over twice as many difficult

pupils (12.12 percent) as well-behaved pupils (5.26%) reported negative descriptions by friends while about the same proportion of each group (18.18% of difficult pupils; 15.79% of well-behaved pupils) reported mixed reactions (see Figure 4.11).

The most frequently used descriptions in the whole sample (N = 71) were:

A good friend (mate)	(15)	21.13%	(Difficults 9, Well-behaved 6)
A good person	(12)	16.90%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 11)
Loyal/trustworthy	(8)	11.27%	(Difficults 5, Well-behaved 3)
Fun to be with	(6)	8.45%	(Difficults 5, Well-behaved 1)
Helpful	(6)	8.45%	(Difficults 2, Well-behaved 4)
O.K. (all right)	(5)	7.04%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 4)

(A complete list of the adjectives used can be found in Appendix J.)

In 57.58 percent of the difficult cases positive descriptions by friends corresponded with positive self-descriptions but the degree of correspondence was higher in the well-behaved sample (76.32%). A similar range of personal comments occurred in both samples. The following examples illustrate the range of responses.

Difficult Pupils.

I haven't got any friends here. Well there's Paul but he's in the Boys' Home. He likes me. He thinks I know about the devil and that.

That I am always happy and only occasionally let off steam.

Too strong for the class (they are scared of me).

Well-behaved Pupils.

Friendly...a good friend. I listen and understand. I don't break secrets.

My best girlfriend says I'm loving and caring. She gets into trouble and I help her. The boys think I'm one of them. I'm really neat.

An attractive person, good friend. They like to have me around. (I spoil them a lot with chips and that.)

When I talk they think I'm unusual sometimes - I'm said to have some grown-up thoughts.

3. What does your friend say about the things you do?

This question was asked because it was possible that while friends might be seen as approving of the pupil interviewed they might not necessarily also approve of his or her actions.

In general friends approved of the actions of pupils in the sample, 63.64 percent of the difficult pupils and 63.15 percent of the well-behaved pupils reporting positively on how their friends reacted. However 15.15 percent of the difficult pupils and 10.53 percent of the well-behaved pupils reported negative reactions to the things they did and 15.15 percent of the difficults compared with 23.68 percent of the well-behaved pupils reported mixed reactions. A small proportion (6.06 percent of the difficult pupils, 2.64 percent of the well-behaved) reported that they did not know what their friends thought of their actions.

The only noteworthy difference between the groups was that more of the difficult pupil group (30.30%) received peer reinforcement of negative behaviour than did the well-behaved pupils (5.26%) as some pupil responses indicate:-

Approval

Difficult Pupils

Well they like it. We can have fun when I annoy teachers.

Neat...like when I stir in class they ask me to do it again.

Well-behaved Pupils

They think it's funny if I get into trouble in class.

That my behaviour is amusing sometimes. Othertimes they get wild.

They take me as a scapegoat mostly. They take me for a ride.

Disapproval. Expressions of disapproval included the following:

Difficult Pupils

They wouldn't think very highly of what I do. I'm going to do an apprenticeship as a plumber and my friends don't like that work.

I march. People comment on that and think it's disgusting being on display in short dresses.

They think I'm a bit childish - do things like a little kid would do. Like a two or three year old...like when I put nail polish on Heidi.

Well-behaved Pupils

Some say I'm mad 'cos I do a job that they think is mad-jockey.

I'm not allowed to go to parties. Chaps laugh and say why don't you say you're going to a friend's place...I don't want to disobey...we do things as a family.

Generally there were fewer extended responses in connection with approved behaviour.

Difficult Pupil

We have fun together, we can be stupid together. Some things some friends don't understand and are jealous about like reader-writer. But mature friends think it's good.

Well-behaved Pupils

That I'm well-behaved in and out of school.

They say thanks when I help. They'd get me a cream bun or something like that.

4. What sort of a person do you think your parents think you are?

The difficult pupils reported more than twice as many negative descriptions by parents (45.45 percent compared with 21.05 percent for the well-behaved pupils). The parents of the well-behaved group were seen as generally positive, 63.16 percent of the pupils providing favourable descriptions compared with only one third of the difficult pupils. Just over 21 percent of the difficult pupils and 15.79 percent of the well-behaved pupils thought their parents would offer mixed descriptions.

In a majority of cases (68.63 percent of the difficult pupils and 73.69 percent of the well-behaved pupils) parental opinions, as perceived by the pupils, corresponded with their self-descriptions in that both were positive, negative or mixed. However, whereas only 36.36 percent of the difficult pupils had positive self-descriptions and positive parental statements, 60.53 percent of the well-behaved pupils had both (see Figure 4.12).

Representative of the negative opinions are the following:

Figure 4.10

Self-Descriptions

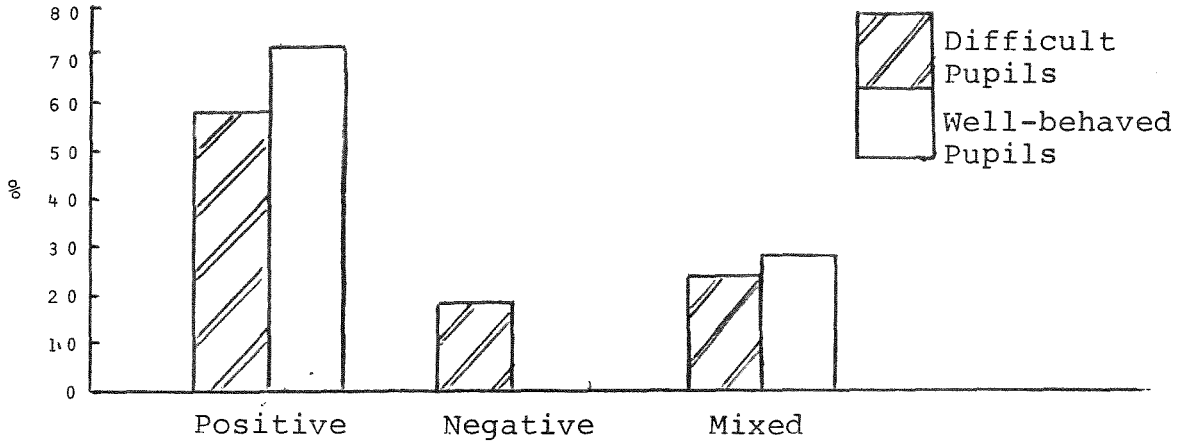


Figure 4.11

Friends' Descriptions

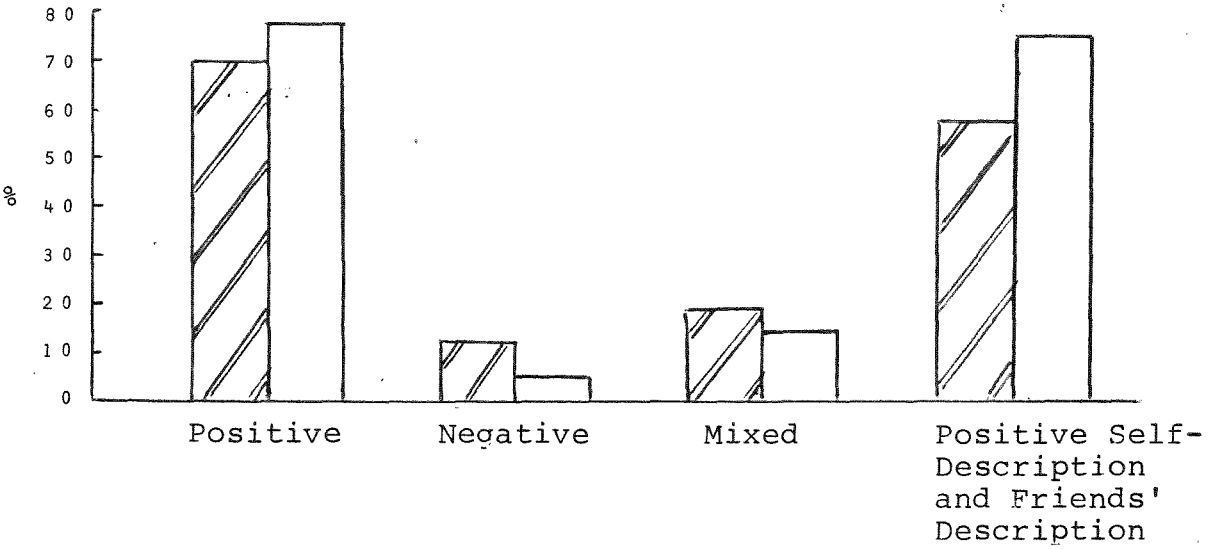
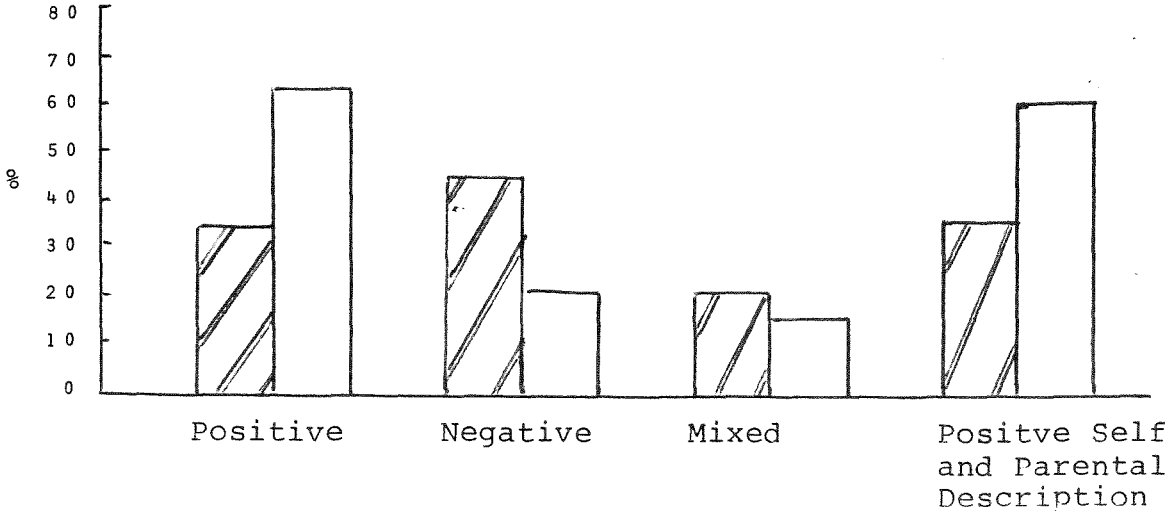


Figure 4.12

Parental Descriptions



Difficult Pupils

Useless, a pest. she says I'm not a Maori but I say I am.

Mum thinks... well she's a bit over-protective. She thinks I might get into mischief.

They hate me. Well my father does. He says I'm a useless bastard.

That I'm a bodgie walking around with friends. That I think I'm great smoking and acting tough. That's what they think. It's just that we walk around.

Mother says I act dumb. I'm a rude daughter. I get upset very quick and I'm sensitive to getting told off. My own father - he wishes he never had me..when he's drunk. Then he wishes he never done anything (like hit me).

Examples of positive statements are:

Well-behaved Pupils

A good kid. They're pleased to have me with them on trips and that.

All right...I don't fight, steal or pinch of things like that. I don't get into bad ways often.

(Appendix J contains a list of the adjectives used by pupils reporting parental attitudes towards them.)

5. What do you do that annoys your parents most?

There were considerable similarities between the lists of most annoying behaviours provided by both groups. Challenges to parental authority such as answering back or disobedience figured strongly. Sixteen behaviours occurred in both lists and were those most frequently mentioned. They are set out in Table 4.

However there was one important difference between the groups. The difficult pupils reported parental annoyance at their getting into trouble at School or with Social Welfare but the well-behaved pupils did not mention this.

Table 4.28

Most Frequently Mentioned Annoying Behaviours

Category	Behaviour	Difficult Pupils (N=33)	Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)
Verbal	Arguing	5	6
	Answering back	7	3
	Being rude or cheeky	1	3
	Being rowdy	2	1
	Whining or complaining	1	1
	Spending too much time on phone	1	2
Evening Behaviour	Staying out at night	3	3
	Going out and not saying where	1	1
	Coming home late at night	1	2
Sibling Relationships	Fighting with brothers and sisters	1	6
Disobedience and Tardiness	Not doing what I'm told	6	8
	Getting up late	1	2
Noisiness	Turning up the radio loud	1	1
Miscellaneous	Bringing home friends parents don't like	1	2
	Stupid or childish behaviour	1	2
	Nailbiting	1	1

One difficult pupil mentioned that everything he did annoyed his parents while several mentioned stronger reactions of annoyance from step-parents than from natural parents.

8. What sort of a person do you think your teachers think you are?

Difficult and well-behaved pupils showed marked differences in their perceptions of how teachers regard them. The well-behaved pupils saw themselves as regarded more positively (52.63 percent gave positive descriptions compared with 15.15 percent of the difficult pupils). The majority of the difficult pupils felt teachers would have mixed (54.55%) or negative (30.30%) reactions to them. Few of the well-behaved pupils (7.89%) felt they would be regarded negatively by teachers.

There was a greater degree of congruence between self-description and perceived teacher description with the well-behaved pupils (73.68 percent agreement) than with the difficult pupils (42.42 percent agreement). This difference was particularly evident in relation to positive self-descriptions. Of the 57.58 percent of the difficult pupils who described themselves positively only 15.15 percent saw teachers regarding them favourably, whereas of the 71.05 percent of well-behaved pupils with positive self-imaged 52.63 percent also saw teachers regarding them with approval (see Figure 4.13).

The qualities most frequently mentioned as approved by teachers were:

Hard-working	(11)	15.49%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 10)
Polite	(5)	7.04%	(Difficults 0, Well-behaved 5)
A good person	(8)	11.27%	(Difficults 3, Well-behaved 5)
Quiet	(5)	7.04%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 4)

(A complete list of the adjectives used can be found in Appendix J.)

Pupils showed some sensitivity to teacher reactions. Examples follow:

I can't say they actually like me that much but they don't dislike me. I always try something new and I always ask if I can't do it. Teachers like that.(Well-behaved pupil)

I don't think Mrs W. likes me. She's avoiding me now. I asked her why and she said she did like me but she's different to me than the others. (Difficult pupil whose form teacher had changed towards her after her mentally ill father started making allegations to the Minister of Education. The pupil was unaware of this.)

B. ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR AT SCHOOL

6. How do you feel about school?

Overall pupils gave more positive or mixed than negative reactions to school. However more of the difficult pupils (27.27 percent compared with 18.42 percent) expressed negative attitudes. Approximately equal proportions gave mixed reactions (30.31 percent of the difficults compared with 31.58 percent of the well-behaved). (See Figure 4.14.)

Among the positive aspects of school noted were practical subjects, especially work exploration, physical education, science, metalwork, woodwork, clothing, Maori and art. School was also valued as a caring place, a place to be with friends and somewhere to fill in time. Several of the difficult pupils mentioned that school got them out of a home which was boring or stressful. One was pessimistic about the long-term benefits:

It's good - gets me out of my boredom. I'm here to learn but unemployment could make the learning a waste of time.

Figure 4.13

Teacher Descriptions

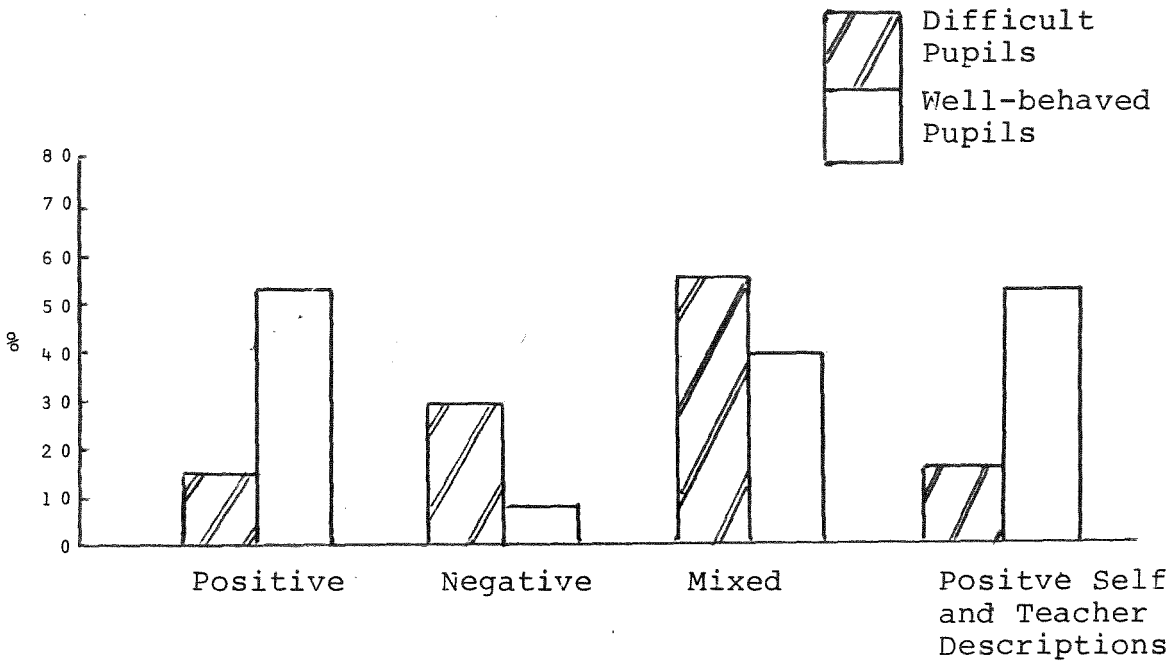
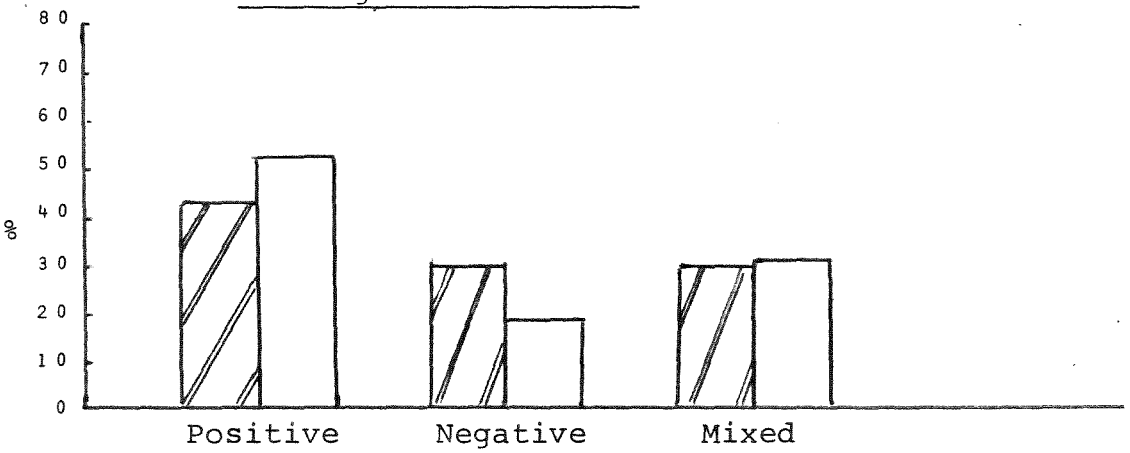


Figure 4.14

Feelings about School



However another, a fifth form girl who had settled a lot after being extremely difficult in her first two years paid a strong tribute to her school:

It's good. I really appreciate and thank the school. It's been really good to me as a person. It's one of the most caring schools. I watch Mrs R. and she cares. They care about the slow kids. It's not just for bright kids.

Negative aspects of school cited were the rules (number and triviality), teachers who were lazy or unfair, boredom, peer pressure and irrelevance.

Both difficult and well-behaved pupils expressed some strong negative feelings:

I hate it. I want to leave and live in a flat. Why can't you leave before you're fifteen? School's no use. (Difficult Form 4 girl.)

I don't like it. I wake up in the morning and I don't want to come. It feels like a brick in my stomach. I feel sick. After school I feel good again. Everyone knows me in this school. They spread rumours about me. They say I'm a poofter. Michael said I wear make-up. He told the others. (Difficult Form 3 boy.)

I don't think it's very fair. Some teachers don't treat you right. Mr C. slapped a boy across the face and squirted oil in his hair. (Well-behaved Form 4 boy.)

School to me is a real nuisance because I feel that there's something more interesting in life to do than come to school - like earning money. (Well-behaved Form 4 girl.)

7. How do you behave at school? In class? In the playground?

The difficult pupils reported three times as much bad behaviour in class as the well-behaved pupils (63.64 percent compared with 21.05 percent). A minority of the difficult pupils (18.18%) reported good classroom behaviour while a majority of the well-behaved pupils (65.79%) did so (see Figure 4.15).

However the majority of both groups (63.64 percent of the difficult, 84.21 percent of the well-behaved) reported that they behaved well in the playground (see Figure 4.16). Those whose behaviour was a mixture attributed the variation to mood, poor teaching or the presence of a student or relieving teacher.

The most frequently mentioned bad behaviours were:

(N = 71)

(a) In Class

Talking all the time and disturbing others	(9)	12.68%	(Difficults 6, Well-behaved 3)
Not doing much work	(3)	4.22%	(Difficults 3, Well-behaved 0)
Rowdiness	(4)	5.63%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 3)
Swearing	(3)	4.22%	(Difficults 3, Well-behaved 0)
Yelling out	(4)	5.63%	(Difficults 4, Well-behaved 0)
Being late for class	(1)	1.4%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 0)
Daydreaming	(2)	2.82%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 1)

(b) In the Playground

Smoking	(11)	14.49%	(Difficults 8, Well-behaved 3)
Being out of bounds	(10)	14.08%	(Difficults 7, Well-behaved 3)
Fighting	(5)	7.04%	(Difficults 3, Well-behaved 2)

Figure 4.15

Behaviour in Class

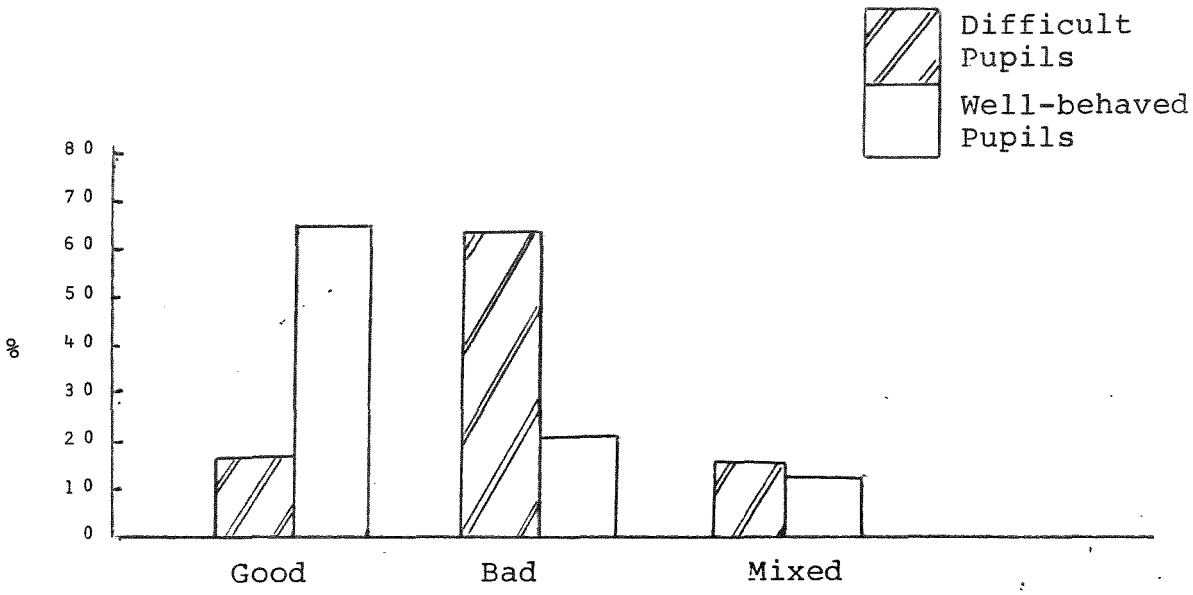
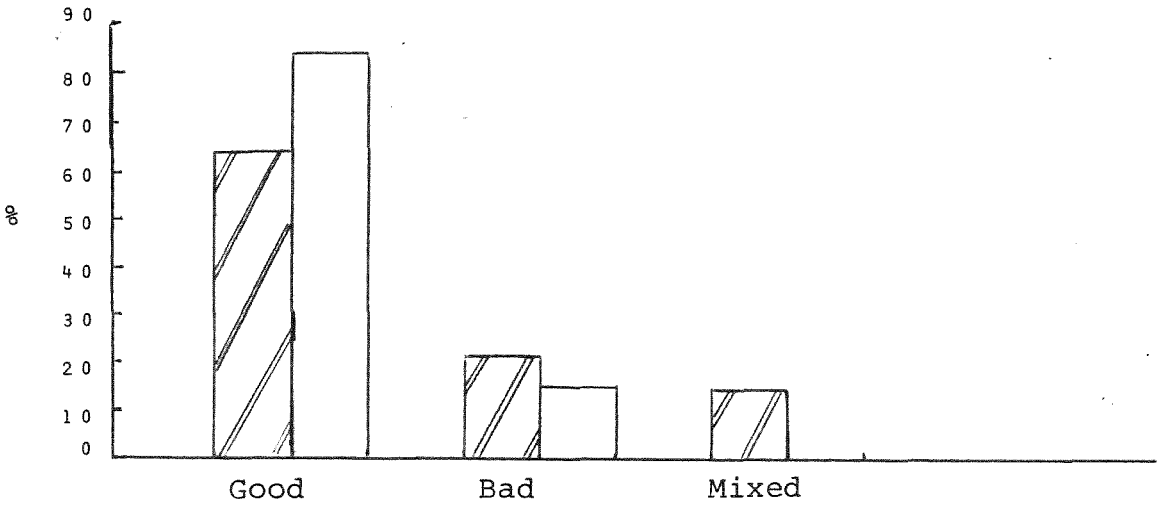


Figure 4.16

Behaviour in the Playground



The above list shows that more of the difficult pupils indulged in the more visible or verbally defiant behaviours. Some indicated this in more extended statements:

I annoy people - get rowdy and yell out. I get out of my seat and throw things. I put gum on my foot and back in my mouth when I walk out. (Form 5 European girl.)

I threaten some teachers to punch them over. (Form 4 Maori boy.)

Some of the well-behaved pupils indicated their willingness to misbehave if they could get away with it.

I am cheeky especially with a soft teacher.

I take it out of them especially if it's a reliever.

I am polite - unless the teacher's a student - then I give him a hard time.

C. DIFFICULT BEHAVIOUR AT SCHOOL

9. What do you do that annoys your teachers most?

The difficult and the well-behaved pupils mentioned many of the same behaviours, the main difference being that while the well-behaved pupils mentioned more work-related misbehaviours than the difficult pupils, the latter mentioned more misbehaviours which constitute a challenge to authority.

Table 4.29

Most Annoying Behaviours to Teachers

Difficult Pupils N = 33			Well-behaved Pupils N = 38		
Inappropriate or Persistent Talking		14	Inappropriate or Persistent talking		17
Yelling out		7	Yelling out (occasionally)		3
Not doing what I'm told	¤	7	Not finishing assignments or homework		5
Out of seat		4	Out of seat to borrow things		3
Cheeking them	¤	4	Not working hard in English	*	3
		2			
Being late for class		2	Being late for class		2
Not working	*	4	Not doing any work	*	3
Don't listen/daydream	*	4	Don't pay attention	*	8
Chewing	¤	1	Eating in class	¤	1
Answering back	¤	3	Answering back		1
Arguing with the teacher	¤	2	Arguing	¤	1
Hitting people		2	Fighting (not often)	¤	1
Refusal to accept a punishment	¤	1	Being noisy		1
Wearing my hat in class	¤	1	Wearing a red jacket	¤	1
Playing up		1	Writing songs in the back of my book		1
Chucking sweets to others in class		1	Speaking without putting my hand up first		1
Disturbing the class when I go beserk		2	Making people talk		1
Bunking		1	Keeping on cracking jokes		1
Swearing		1	Losing my temper		1
Annoying people		1	Untidy writing	*	1
Moaning		1			
Demanding attention		1			
Refusing to answer a question	¤	1			

* work-related misbehaviours

¤ misbehaviours which challenge authority

10. Sometimes teachers find some pupils rather difficult to manage. Are you one of those pupils? Would you explain a bit more?

Nearly half (48.49%) of the difficult pupils saw themselves as predominantly difficult to manage while a further 12.12 percent believed that they were difficult sometimes. In contrast only 15.79 percent of the well-behaved pupils saw themselves as difficult to manage and then mainly with regard to minor misbehaviours. On the whole, the well-behaved pupils saw themselves as easy to manage (84.21 percent compared with 39.39 percent of the difficult pupils). (See Figure 4.17.)

While it may seem puzzling that less than half of the pupils designated by their teachers as difficult to manage saw themselves in such a way, an explanation may lie in some of the responses. These indicate that while the pupil's behaviour may be difficult or disruptive a teacher could easily control it. Examples follow:

Mr W. just puts me (i.e. my name) on the board and I jsut stop. I'm easy to manage.

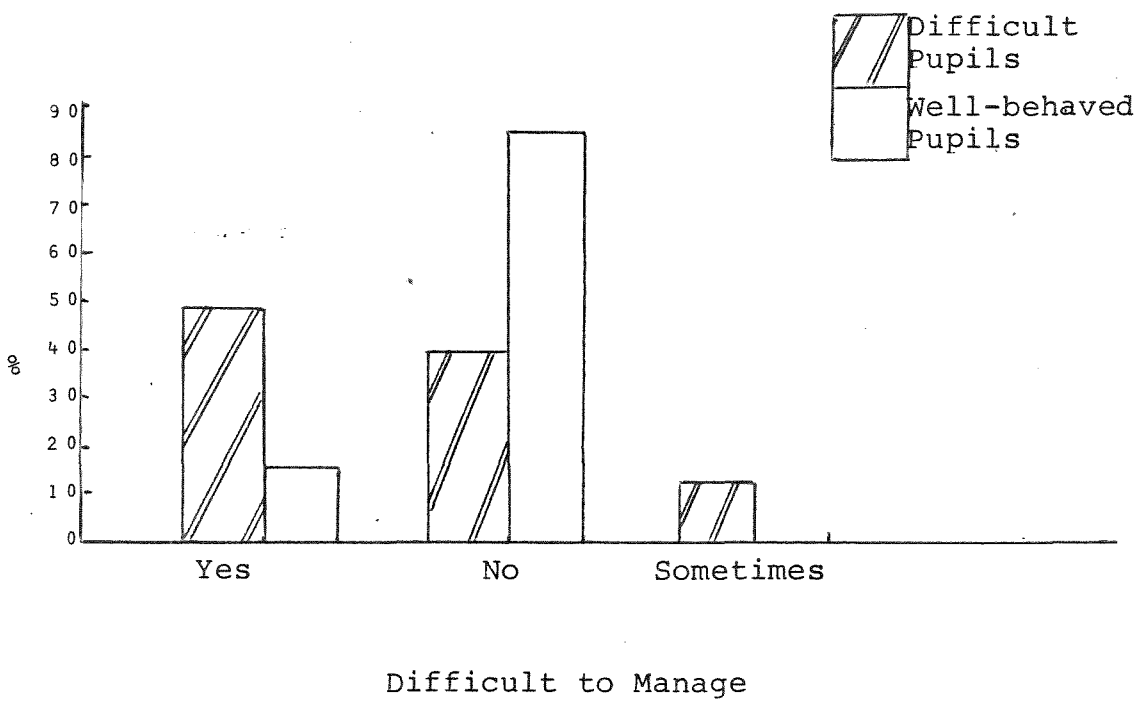
I don't provoke teachers very often. I respond to the teacher and stop playing up when she puts her foot down.

Some teachers don't annoy you. I'm all right in some classes. I respect the teacher so I don't look for trouble. In other classes I can't help myself.

The most common explanation given by the difficult pupils for designating themselves as difficult to manage was disobedience which 45.45 percent mentioned. Some saw themselves as difficult because of aggressive behaviour: e.g.

Figure 4.17

Pupil Designation of their Management Difficulty



I'm the worst. I just tell them to get fucked.

I'm uncontrollable. I throw things.

While others based their designation on teacher response: e.g.

They pick on me so I must be. I'm on a green card.

I don't think so but they do. They say I cause trouble. They say I upset kids. If something goes missing they blame me.

Because the teacher boots me out - - says I'm too difficult because I won't do what I'm told.

The pupils were more inclined to accept the teacher's authority, e.g.

I was brought up not to misbehave but to respect people.

Eventually they'll win in the end so you might as well give in.

They just need to threaten and I'll stop it.

11. Who (who else) in your class is sometimes difficult to manage?

The difficult pupils named boys and girls in equal proportions (28 girls and 28 boys) while the well-behaved pupils named more boys (46) than girls (30).

Of those nominated as difficult by well-behaved pupils 21 percent did not form part of the upper quartile of difficult pupils named by teachers. However they may have been members of the other quartiles. The difficult pupils named as difficult to manage, three of the pupils chosen by teachers as well-behaved.

The behaviours most frequently mentioned as contributing to the designation 'difficult to manage' were being out of seat, calling out, throwing (water or objects), giving cheek,

refusing to obey commands, inappropriate talking, swearing, disobedience and fighting.

12 and 13. What exactly is it that happens when a teacher finds it difficult to manage x (or you)? Could you give me a recent example?

Most of the replies outlined a battle for control, a pattern of teacher requests and pupil refusals followed by escalation into a definite incident. The teacher tells the pupil to perform a certain task. The pupil refuses. The request (or command) is repeated. The pupil again refuses. The teacher becomes angry and the pupil is punished with a detention or sent out of the room to the corridor or to a senior staff member (see Figure 4.18).

The sequence often begins with fairly trivial infringements which may indicate high spiritedness rather than deliberate disobedience initially. However, disobedience rapidly becomes the issue and the battle for control is on. Examples of this sequence follow:

A girl borrows a book. The teacher asks for it back. The girl refuses. The teacher then says "Give me the book and put out that gum". The girl says, "It's break now and I'm allowed to chew". The teacher says, "Well, in my class you're not allowed to". The girl then steps out the door and says, "I'm not in your class now". The teacher asks again and the girl throws the book towards the teacher. The book lands on the ground. The teacher says, "You're a spoled brat". The girl then swears and says "I'm going to tell me mother what you called me". The teacher says "Don't you talk to me like that. Go to Mr A." (the Dean). (Reported by Form 4 female well-behaved pupil.)

Figure 4.18

Difficult Behaviour Sequences

Teacher

Sequence 1 Pupil

Infringement → *Reprimand* → Continued Infringement → *Further reprimand or threat of punishment* → Another infringement *Referral to Senior Staff Member*

Sequence 2

Infringement → *Request* → Refusal to Comply → *Repeated request* → Defiant answer → *Reprimand* → Defiant acts → *Angry Rejoinder* → Angry pupil response (and threat) → *Referral to Senior Staff Member plus exclusion from class*

Sequence 3

Infringement → Audience Reaction → *Demand for an explanation* → False Explanation → *Command* → Defiance followed by Compliance Infringement

Sequence 4

Infringement → *Ignored* → Further infringements → *Teacher reprimand and threat*

I was talking. The teacher requested quiet. I wasn't. She threatened punishment. I took an ostentatious bite of an apple in her sight and was sent to the Principal's office. (Reported by a Form 4 difficult boy.)

I was late and I banged a desk. Shane said, "Woo..." and the rest laughed. Mr P. said, "Why are you late?" and I said "I had to go and see Mr G." He said, "He's not here. Sit over there". I said, "Why?" but I did. Then I was talking to Vicki and he sent me out. (Reported by a Form 5 difficult girl.)

(Further examples of incidents of difficult behaviour are recorded in Appendix J.)

14. How do you feel when things like that happen?

Responses to this question can be grouped into nine categories ranging from remorse to detachment to defiance. The major differences between the groups were that while 34.21 percent of the well-behaved pupils were annoyed at pupil misbehaviour only 9.1 percent of the difficult pupils expressed such annoyance. Likewise more of the well-behaved (23.68%) than the difficults(9.1%) detached themselves from incidents of misbehaviour. While 18.1 percent of the difficult pupils expressed anger at the teacher only 10.52 percent of the well-behaved did so (see Table 4.30 and Figure 4.19).

Table 4.30

Feelings About Incidents of Bad Behaviour

Difficult Pupils (N=33)	Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)
Remorse (9.1%)	(2.63%)
I feel like just walking out. I don't feel good about misbehaving. I don't mean to .. it just comes out. I feel regretful afterwards, now it's too late.	I feel I have let not only myself down, but the teachers too. They lose interest in you after what you've done and I feel like a real fool. I wish I could help myself but school's boring.
Identification with the teacher's rights and feelings (12.1%)	(13.16%)
I feel sorry for the teacher if it's a teacher I like. I think it's fair for teachers to punish.	I feel annoyed. I don't believe in doing that - testing out new teachers. I'm the only one in the class who doesn't do it. I put myself in that position. I wouldn't like that. When a teacher is trying hard I feel sorry for that teacher.
Annoyance at the pupil's misbehaviour (9.1%)	(34.22%)
I feel so mad that I'd like to say to the student, "Don't be so pathetic - grow up".	Sometimes I'm annoyed because it breaks concentration. Also the class gets a bad name and can't go on trips. I feel hacked off. The class gets a bad name. That's the mean thing.
Detachment (9.1%)	(23.68%)
It's none of my business. I ignore it if I'm not friendly with the girl.	I'm not worried. They're making fools of themselves. As long as it doesn't affect what I'm doing. I just sit back and watch.

Table 4.30 Continued

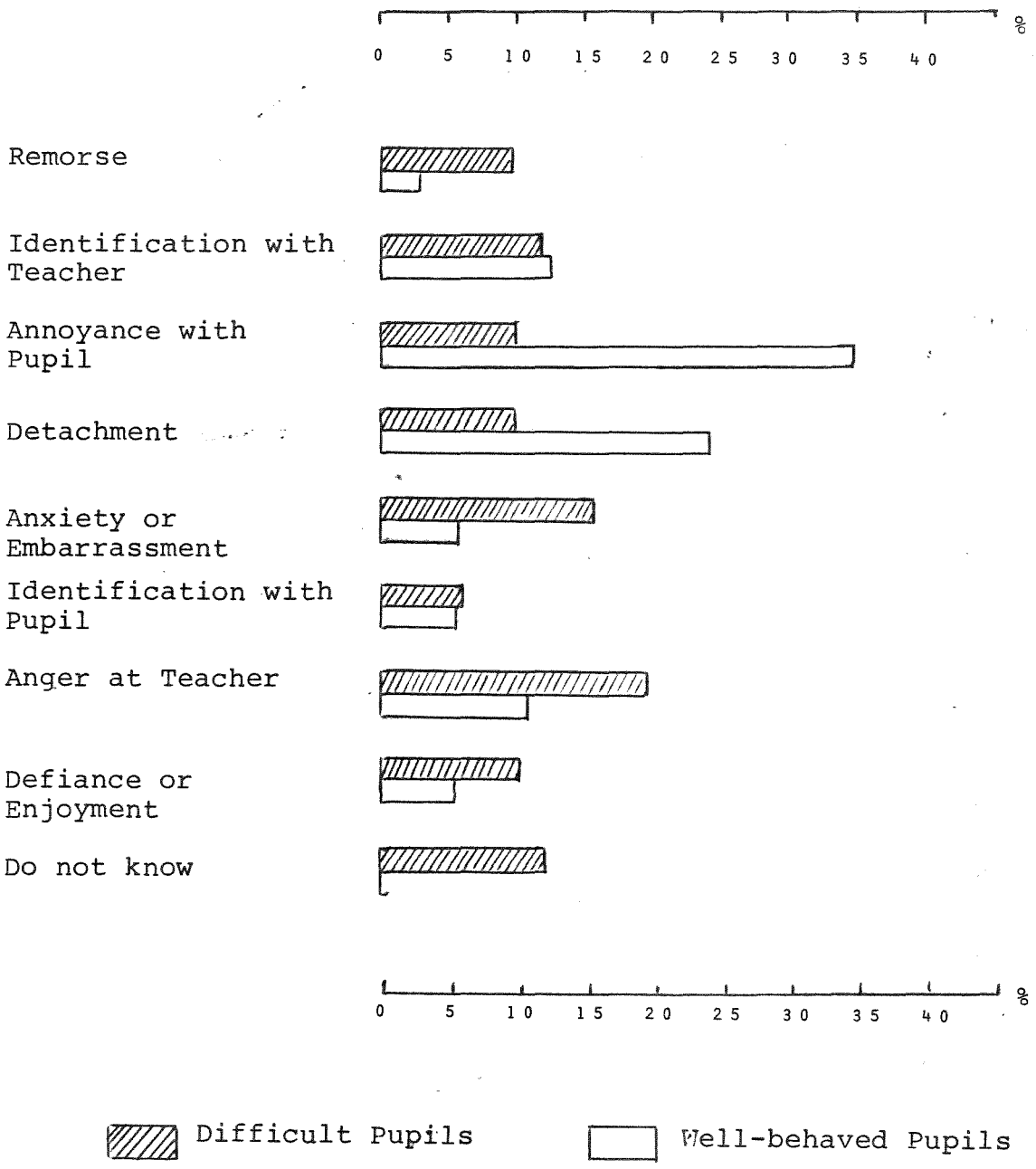
Anxiety or Embarrassment (15.2%) I hate it. I want to hide. Sometimes I hide in my mind. In myself become thoughtful, wondering what is going to happen next. It gets to me because teachers' bad moods affect others including me. I get embarrassed sometimes because it is my friend. The others go "Ooh..." when he's sitting by me and gets into trouble.	(5.26%) I feel they should be good because I'm afraid of what the teacher might do. I feel distracted, awful (in a dilemma) if it's my friend involved.
Identification with the misbehaving pupil (6.1%) I feel sorry for the kid himself that he has to behave like that. Something is pushing him so he has to demand attention.	(5.26%) Sometimes I feel sorry for the girl because of the problems she is having to make her behave like that. I felt like sticking up for him. The teacher came in and blamed him for the noise but the whole class owned up on his behalf. I quite often felt like sticking up for him but didn't have the courage.
Anger at the Teacher (18.1%) I feel angry. It's not fair when teachers make a fuss over nothing. It's not fair to be punished for tiny things. I feel mad at them because why should they be allowed to hit us.	(10.52%) I feel annoyed. I reckon they should give another chance. Teachers are a bit quick on detentions. It's a bore. Why can't we get on with it. Not so much nagging over stupid things. Pissed off. I have no trust for teachers.

Table 4.30 Continued

Defiant enjoyment of the disruption (9.1%)	(5.26%)
It's cool. I'm not going to be pushed around. It's cool when the class plays us.	Sometimes it seems like a good laugh. It's fun and sometimes scary if the teacher really loses her temper and shouts.
Don't know (12.1%)	(0.0%)

Figure 4.19

Feelings About Classroom Misbehaviour



15. How do you think such things could be avoided?

Most pupils laid the responsibility for change on the teachers with 71 percent of the well-behaved pupils but only 30.30 percent of the difficults advocating that teachers should be stricter. However 18.42 percent of the well-behaved pupils and 15.15 percent of the difficult pupils called for greater understanding by teachers.

Twenty-one percent of the difficult pupils felt that the responsibility for avoiding trouble lay with the pupils while 15.15 percent could not offer a solution. Some of the well-behaved pupils (14.15%) were pessimistic about the possibility of change, e.g.

Some kids shouldn't be allowed at school because they're not going to change and behave. (Well-behaved pupil.)

You can't - you always get a troublemaker. (Well-behaved pupil.)

They can't help it. Even if they had the care it wouldn't make any difference. (Well-behaved pupil.)

No really innovative solutions were offered but one difficult Form 5 girl made some very perceptive observations:

Understand and have a relationship. Let him have some of his wants so he doesn't have to be demanding. Prevent it. If you know he'll get into trouble involve him. Get him doing things first. (When I was at the creche I found that the kids I knew would be difficult were o.k. if I prevented it. I got them to do things with me before they got into trouble.)

The difficult pupils were more likely to advocate changes in the rules (15.15% did) or to accept responsibility for

changing themselves, e.g.

Teachers should let you talk.

If teachers did not moan so much, especially making general remarks about the class.

Not have so many rules. Teachers interfere too much. Let us get on with it.

It's the pupil's fault, not the teacher's.

Pupils should be quiet and do as they are told.

Responses illustrative of the desire for greater strictness are:

A teacher should announce that she won't put up with any nonsense. They'd have to back it up though. (Well-behaved pupil.)

Teachers being a bit more stricter, e.g. send them out. Some do that now. Make them see who's boss. Some kids have a better hold on teachers than teachers have over them. (Well-behaved pupil.)

They come out strict when you first meet them. You know where you stand. (Well-behaved pupil.)

The teacher should stricten up a bit - make me do it. (Difficult.)

The following statements illustrate the desire for more understanding by teachers:

Teachers should understand pupils. (Difficult.)

Have a quiet talk. See if there are problems at home. (Control.)

People to be more friendly. Join in jokes with the class - not just keep separate and teach your subject. (Well-behaved pupil.)

However two control pupils called for greater understanding of teachers by pupils.

Specific punishment techniques advocated were: (=71)

1. Separate troublemakers	(10)	14.08%	(Difficults 3, Well-behaved 7)
2. Have a graded list of punishments.	(2)	2.82%	(Difficults 2, Well-behaved 0)
3. Duties for a week after school.	(1)	1.4%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 0)
4. Strap or cane.	(4)	5.63%	(Difficults 1, Well-behaved 3)
5. Detentions	(1)	1.4%	(Difficults 0, Well-behaved 1)
6. Ignore troublemakers	(1)	1.4%	(Difficults 0, Well-behaved 1)

Perhaps the last word should be left with the two who advocated keeping out of trouble by staying away:

You could bunk. (Difficult.)

Stay at home and then you won't get into trouble. (Well-behaved.)

D. DESIRED CHANGES

16. <u>If you could change things at school in any way you liked, what would you want to be different</u>?

A wide range of responses was offered by both groups. Aspects of school mentioned by both included punishments, teachers, rules, understanding the work, social aspects, sport, smoking, buildings, uniform, attendance and provision for slow learners. The only major differences between the groups was that 28.94 percent of the well-behaved pupils did not want any change while only 9 percent of the difficult pupils were satisfied.

The most commonly mentioned features of school life were:

(a) Rules and punishments. 17 mentions (Difficult 11, Well-behaved 6), e.g.

I wish it wasn't so like Christ's College...people are trying to make it so perfect in the rules. We're just ordinary folk here. (Difficult.)

Abolish the cane. (Difficult.)

Teachers rely too much on punishment - detention is a way out for the teacher. (Well-behaved.)

Fewer rules, e.g. no ban on light-coloured shoes
able to take friends home for lunch
able to sit at the front of the school at lunchtime. (Well-behaved.)

Students should be able to help make the rules evenly with the teachers. (Difficult.)

(b) Uniform. 14 mentions (Difficults 5, Well-behaved 9)

We should not have to wear uniform.

More modern uniform - more flexible.

(c) Teachers. 12 mentions (Difficults 6, Well-behaved 6)

Teachers should listen to you when you complain about unfair things. (Well-behaved.)

Take the teachers out and just learn by yourself. (Difficult.)

I would change some of the teachers - those that don't like you. (Well-behaved.)

(d) Subjects and work. 11 mentions (Difficults 3, Well-behaved 8)

I'd like the work to be more understanding. (Well-behaved.)

There are too many words. (Well-behaved.)

Greater choice of subjects and being able to start them at different levels. (Well-behaved.)

More remedial classes, e.g. for reading. (Well-behaved.)

(e) Personal pleas. 5 mentions (Difficults only)

People to like me.

To have friends.

To feel good.

To have people (i.e. teachers) stop bothering about me. I don't ask them to bother but they keep on. I just want them to leave me alone.

One of the difficult pupils made a perceptive plea: Look at the slow classes more closely. Show them they're not dumb, that they're someone special. Give more kids like me help so we feel good.

Another difficult girl perhaps got to the heart of the matter when she said: I would like the teachers to like me and the work to be so I could understand it.

17. If you could change things at home in any way you liked, what would you want to be different?

Difficult and well-behaved pupils had similar desires: freedom to decide on their own actions, freedom from the pressures of their parents' problems, freedom from the irritations of siblings and openness of communication. The major differences were that more of the well-behaved (47.37 percent compared with 30.30 percent of the difficult pupils) wanted no change and more of the difficult pupils (21.21 percent compared with 2.63 percent of the well-behaved) wanted better communication at home.

Major categories of Responses

(a) More freedom to determine one's own actions. 17 mentions (Difficults 7, Well-behaved 10)

More freedom to go out more often. (Well-behaved)

Have access to my bank account. (Well-behaved)

Being allowed to let your friends ring up. (Difficult)

(b) Freedom from Parental Problems. 14 mentions (Difficults 7, Well-behaved 7)

I wish Mum stopped drinking but it's pretty good at Nana's. (Well-behaved)

I would like to get away from Dad for a while ... about six months. Stop him shouting and hitting me. Not have so much to do. (Well-behaved pupil with a solo father.)

My father to come back but he's in Holland. Mum not so nervous and not to get sick. (Difficult.)

Mum would be happy. She wouldn't have another breakdown. (Difficult.)

(c) Freedom from Sibling Conflicts. 7 mentions (Difficults 3, Well-behaved 4)

Kim to stop bossing us and Donovan to stop messing up out things. (Difficult pupil referring to an older unmarried sister and her child.)

Try not to be fighting with my brother. (Difficult)

Like to go out without my brother and sister more. (Well-behaved)

(d) Communication. 8 mentions (Difficults 7, Well-behaved)

See my parents more and have more time to talk. (Difficult)

To be able to talk to my parents properly, to have discussions with them. (Difficult)

We could all get on a bit better. Be a bit friendlier. (Well-behaved)

(e) Material Changes. 8 mentions (Difficults 3, Well-behaved 5)

Would like a new house. Ours is not as posh as my friends' houses so I don't always bring them home. (Difficult)

A bedroom to myself. (Well-behaved)

More privacy. (Well-behaved)

18. If you could change yourself in any way you liked, what would you want to be different?

Over a third of the difficult pupils (33.33%) and the well-behaved pupils (39.47%) did not want to change themselves in any way. Among the remainder the main difference was that while 39.39 percent of the difficult pupils wanted to change attitudes and behaviour at school the well-behaved pupils were more concerned with changing personal attributes not necessarily related to school. Just over 34 percent of them wanted to change physical attributes while 44.73 percent wanted to change aspects of their personalities.

Major Categories

(a) Change in Attitude or Behaviour at School. 14 mentions (Difficult 13, Well-behaved 1)

Better attitude to school work. I regret my attitude because I failed an apprenticeship Maths test. (Difficult)

Try and buckle up a bit - not get in so much trouble. (Difficult)

I'd like to change my attitude. Stop being cheeky. Just be a sweet girl. (Difficult)

(b) Personality. 23 mentions (Difficults 6, Well-behaved 17)

Be able to stick up for myself more, be able to use, cope

and get on with what I've got. Be a whole person and help people. If you accept yourself you can get on with yourself and with other people can't you? (Difficult)

Should be less proud about admitting I'm wrong. (Well-behaved)

I'd like to be not so kind of positive in what I do. I show myself up a bit. I want to be calmed down a bit, be a bit slower. (Well-behaved)

(c) Physical Attributes. 19 mentions (Difficults 6, Well-behaved 13)

I'd be bigger. (Difficult)

Lose some weight. (Difficult)

Have olive skin so I wouldn't get sunburnt so often. (Well-behaved)

(Further examples are recorded in Appendix J.)

Summary

Overall, the difficult pupils regarded themselves less positively and saw their parents and teachers regarding them less positively than did the well-behaved pupils. However both groups tended to see themselves and their actions regarded positively by friends.

Generally both samples tended to express a positive or mixed attitude towards school but more of the difficult pupils expressed negative attitudes. However they differed markedly in evaluation of their classroom behaviour, three times as many difficult as well-behaved pupils designating their behaviour as difficult. But in the playground the majority of both groups considered themselves well-behaved.

Well-behaved pupils and difficult pupils provided similar lists of annoying behaviours but the emphasis differed, the well-behaved pupils citing more work-related behaviours while the difficult pupils mentioned more challenges to authority.

Sixty percent of the pupils designated by their teachers as difficult to manage saw themselves in this way at least sometimes. Few of the well-behaved pupils saw themselves as difficult and then only in relation to more minor misbehaviours. Management difficulties were perceived as a battle for control. More of the well-behaved pupils were annoyed by, or detached from, pupil misbehaviour while more of the difficult pupils were anxious or embarrassed.

Both groups placed the responsibility for avoiding difficult behaviour squarely on the teachers, most of the well-behaved and one third of the difficult pupils advocating that teachers be more strict. Another common plea was for greater understanding by teachers while a number of the difficult pupils wanted changes in the rules. Almost one third of the well-behaved pupils wanted no change at school.

Likewise home as it is, satisfied nearly half the well-behaved pupils while unlike them, the difficult pupils called for better communication. One third of both groups expressed no desire to change themselves but of those who did want change, more of the difficult pupils wanted to change their attitudes and behaviour at school while the well-behaved pupils were more concerned with changing physical or personal attributes not necessarily connected with school.

In general there was considerable overlap in the perceptions and attitudes of the two groups but also a tendency for the difficult pupils to be less self-accepting, less positive and more alienated than the well-behaved pupils.

CONCLUSIONS

A. SUMMARY

The present study sought to discover how many difficult pupils were on the rolls of the fourteen state secondary schools in Christchurch in 1980. The definition of 'difficult pupil' chosen as a starting point for teachers was:

> 'A pupil who persistently causes you such serious difficulty that you have to call on your Principal, Deputy-Principal, Senior Master or Mistress, Deans or Tutors, Head of Department or Counsellor to assist you because regular means of discipline, (e.g. impositions, detentions), are ineffective.'

A second purpose was to investigate the extent to which difficulty in this sense was associated with such variables as race, scholastic aptitude, formclass, socio-economic status, family size and type of school. A third was to isolate the behaviours of most concern to classroom teachers and to survey the interventions tried and the involvement of support services such as the Department of Social Welfare and the Psychological Service.

Senior staff in the schools contributed their perceptions of the causes, effects and possible solutions. Their perceptions were investigated because on the basis of these, pupils are defined as 'difficult' and sanctions are applied to them.

Another purpose was to study the problem from a pupil perspective by comparing a subsample of difficult pupils with a matched sample of well-behaved pupils in relation to their social development, their self-esteem, their perceptions of self, and their views on the problem of difficult behaviour in schools.

After preliminary discussions during February, 1980, to alert teachers to the survey, a Questionnaire was distributed in May. A sample of 210 was thus obtained. Senior staff were interviewed during June and July and a preliminary report was delivered to the Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council which had commissioned the study. The upper quartile of difficult pupils was matched for sex, form, scholastic aptitude, socio-economic status and race with a sample of well-behaved pupils. The groups were rated by teachers on social development and rated themselves on self-esteem. During structured interviews difficult pupils and well-behaved pupils expressed their views about difficult behaviour in secondary schools.

The Sample

The schools designated 2.6 percent of their combined rolls as difficult, thus providing a sample of 210 (94 girls and 116 boys). However informal discussion revealed that this probably was not the full total possible. Some teachers and some schools were perhaps reluctant to admit to difficulties. The staff co-ordinators appeared to vary in their enthusiasm and efficiency. Therefore the reported characteristics of the sample cannot be held to be truly representative of all difficult pupils in Christchurch state secondary schools.

Fourth formers provided the largest form group in the sample. Pupils who were average or low in scholastic aptitude, of Non-European racial origin, from the lower socio-economic levels or from solo parent homes and from larger families formed the greatest proportion of the sample. While

the proportions of boys and girls in the total sample were approximately equal, in the upper quartile boys predominated along with fourth formers, those of low scholastic aptitude and those from the low socio-economic levels.

Behaviours of Concern

In the classroom the behaviours reported as occurring most frequently were: doing little work, being rude to teachers, disrupting lessons, refusal to obey and being out of seat. The most frequently occurring behaviours out of class were obscene language, flouting uniform regulations and truancy. Physical attack was regarded seriously, although its occurrence was comparatively infrequent. The behaviours rated as most disruptive were disobedience, disrupting others and refusal to work.

Senior staff interviewed concurred with the opinion of classroom teachers that persistent, blatant defiance and disruption was the greatest problem. Serious acts of physical violence were abhorred, but they were considered easier to deal with because of the clear-cut nature of the offences. Persistent truancy was also of great concern. Teachers expressed their frustration at their apparent powerlessness to combat truancy or to effect changes in the behaviour of the most difficult pupils.

Social Development

The Social Development Scale (Pilot Version; Turnbull, 1980) differentiated clearly between the difficult and the well-behaved pupils. The difficult pupils obtained significantly lower scores on the full and revised scales and on

the two subscales. They were rated as deficient in social skills, pro-social behaviours and the ability to respond acceptably to the requests and reactions of others. On the other hand they were rated as engaging in anti-social behaviour more frequently.

Interventions

The involvement of parents and the extensive use of forms of counselling were noteworthy features of the pattern of interventions. Detentions were still used frequently but the incidence of caning was low. The Department of Social Welfare and the Education Department's Psychological Service were, predictably, the outside agencies most frequently involved with difficult pupils.

Factors Associated with Difficult Behaviour

Through the use of analysis of various techniques the study yielded some possible explanations of the differences in the behaviour of difficult pupils. The twenty-four difficult behaviours yielded four significant main effects. These were sex, race, scholastic aptitude and type of school. However these related to only a minority of the behaviours.

The sex main effect occurred on "attacks pupils", "throws objects", "tantrums", "lies", "steals", and "out of seat". Apart from "tantrums", the tendency was for males to engage in these behaviours more frequently than females.

The race main effect occurred on "dislikes school", "truants", and "flouts uniform regulations", the last named to be viewed tentatively because it also occurred in the Sex-Race interaction. While the tendency was for Europeans to truant and flout uniform regulations less often than Non-

Europeans the opposite was true for disliking school.

Scholastic aptitude yielded significant main effects consistently on "fights", "truants", "out of bounds", and "obscene language". The tendency was for pupils of low scholastic aptitude to fight, truant and be out of bounds more frequently than pupils of average or high scholastic aptitude, but pupils of average scholastic aptitude engaged in more obscene language than the other two groups.

Type of school yielded significant main effects consistently on "rude", "truants", "out of bounds", "flouts uniform regulations", "obscene language", "throws objects" and "smokes". The tendency was for pupils of co-educational schools to engage in all these behaviours more frequently than pupils from single sex schools.

Sex interacted with race in relation to four behaviours. The trend was for Non-European females to engage in the more blatant of these behaviours, i.e. "flouts uniform regulations", "smokes" and "obscene language", more frequently than any of the other groups. However, it was European males who tended to engage most frequently in "out of seat" behaviour.

Sex in interaction with form was significant in relation to "does little work". Fourth form males tended to do less work than third or fifth form males, while amongst females it was the fifth formers who tended to do least work.

Socio-economic status interacted with family size in relation to "swears", "rude", "lies" and "obscene language". However there was no obvious pattern and the interaction proved difficult to interpret.

While difficult behaviour was often attributed, during the senior staff interviews, to family circumstances, the contribution of the school was not neglected. Features such as size, complexity of organization, disruption of routine, unsuitable curricula and intolerant or ineffective teachers were cited as possible contributory causes.

Effect on the School

It was felt by senior staff that difficult pupils have an influence out of proportion to their numbers, particularly in wearing down staff morale and disrupting other pupils. Senior staff believe that a school's image was largely based on the incidence of misbehaviour by its pupils, or, perhaps more accurately, the reputation it had for such misbehaviour.

Solutions

Guidance networks were endorsed as a positive measure and parental contact was strongly recommended. Alternative programmes for difficult pupils within the school and forms of daily report were also seen as effective. Most of the senior staff interviewed favoured better staffing ratios so that schools could be more flexible, and could make internal provisions for difficult pupils. They also desired more community and social agency support. There was no strong endorsement of punishments such as detention and caning, except as a visible sign of disapproval and a means of releasing the feelings of the teachers concerned.

The Perceptions of Difficult Pupils Compared with those of Well-behaved Pupils

On the Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale the difficult pupils rated themselves lower in self-esteem than the well-

behaved pupils. However neither group was really low in self-esteem. The majority of the difficult pupils rated themselves as having moderate self-esteem while the majority of the well-behaved pupils reported high self-esteem.

Somewhat surprisingly, from the structured interviews with pupils, there emerged a picture of difficult pupils expressing broadly similar views to those of the well-behaved pupils. However there was a tendency for more of the difficult pupils interviewed to regard themselves less positively, and to perceive teachers and parents regarding them less positively, than was evident with the well-behaved pupils. But both groups tended to see themselves and their actions as regarded positively by friends. More of the difficult pupils expressed negative attitudes towards school and saw themselves as likely to be rated 'difficult' by teachers. More of them mentioned that they engaged in difficult behaviours which constituted challenges to authority. While a majority of the well-behaved pupils were annoyed by, or detached from, pupil misbehaviour, more of the difficult pupils were anxious or embarrassed.

Both groups placed the responsibility for control with teachers. While one third of the well-behaved pupils desired no change at school, the remainder and a third of the difficult pupils, wanted teachers to be more strict. However both groups wanted such strictness to be accompanied by understanding.

Fewer of the well-behaved pupils desired changes in their homes, school or themselves. In contrast a significant number of the difficult pupils wanted improved communication

in the home and a change in their own attitudes and behaviour at school.

Thus, the picture emerged of a group of difficult pupils, more vulnerable and less adequately socialised than the well-behaved pupils but not committed to maintaining difficult behaviour. Quite the contrary. Many strongly desired changes in themselves and in their environment to enable them to be accepted and to achieve many of the goals valued by the school.

B. DISCUSSION

The Sample

Contrary to previous research findings the proportions of boys (55.24%) and girls (44.76%) did not differ greatly. Beilin (1959) reviewed fourteen studies in which the proportions of boys ranged from 66 percent to 88 percent. Rutter (1975) suggested a 3:1 ratio of boys to girls and Medway (1979) Stott et al. (1975), and Waksman (1979) also found a predominance of boys. Even though these studies have different definitions of 'difficult' pupils it seems reasonable to suggest that the narrowing of the gap evident in this study may be part of a general western social trend for an increase in the incidence of more visible anti-social behaviour in females. However, it must be acknowledged that an alternative explanation is that the studies quoted were dealing with only the most difficult pupils. Support for the common findings comes from the fact that in this study boys did predominate in the upper quartile of difficult pupils, i.e. those engaging most frequently, and in more of, the difficult behaviours.

That fourth formers provided the largest form group in the sample confirmed a common belief, one expressed by some of the senior staff interviewed. It was also in accordance with Howell's (1974) finding that fourth and fifth formers predominated in those suspended or expelled from Dunedin secondary schools.

Pupils of average or low scholastic aptitude, Non-European racial origin, from the lower socio-economic levels, solo parent homes and larger families were over-represented in the sample. If, as seems reasonable, the lower socio-economic level and the non-working solo parent categories were combined they provided 85.71 percent of the total sample, an over-representation. According to Elley and Irving (1972, p.164) in Canterbury at that time 62.4 percent of the male labour force was in the "low" group.)

Solo parent families were probably also over-represented at 30 percent. No figures were readily available as to the number of solo parent homes in Christchurch which currently contributed to secondary school rolls. However some schools attempted to record such information. One reported that 16 percent, and another that 26 percent of their intake come from solo parent homes.

Few pupils from the high scholastic aptitude category featured in the sample and those of low scholastic aptitude were over-represented in relation to a normal distribution curve. This was probably predictable and was one of the expectations senior staff expressed. The pupils of lower scholastic ability may have fewer chances of academic success and thus more sources of frustration in the school system.

Non-European pupils (91 percent of them Maori and 6.6 percent Samoan) were also over-represented in the sample, forming 21.43 percent of it, whereas Maori and Pacific Island pupils constitute only 4.1 percent of the overall enrolment in Christchurch secondary schools. Again, more of the pupils came from families of three or more children compared with the national average of 2.2 children per family. This result is in line with New Zealand research on juvenile delinquency (e.g. Department of Social Welfare, 1973), where offenders tend to come from larger families.

Labels like 'difficult' or 'deviant' are bestowed on people who violate norms. It is those in power who assign these labels. It is, perhaps, worth commenting therefore, that it was the socially less powerful groups (Non-Europeans, those of lower socio-economic levels and the less scholastically able) who were over-represented in the sample. The norms that were infringed, apart from those relating to violence and theft, were largely those of the more powerful social group.

Behaviours of Concern

The two main categories of behaviours which worried teachers were those which interfered with learning and those which constituted challenged to authority. This was in accordance with Werthman's (1970) contention that the underlying issue for teachers is their authority. Some of the behaviours objected to were ones which most adults have engaged in at times. Some (e.g. choosing what to wear, smoking, going shopping at lunchtime) are acceptable in other settings. Pupils from different social groups to those

of their teachers, may not accept school authority in matters of dress, hairstyle, friendships or movement.

The behaviours selected by the Christchurch teachers and by the pupils as being of most concern corresponded to those identified by Wickman (1928) in two of his categories, undesirable personality traits and violations of classroom or school rules. They were also in accordance with Larrivee's (1979) categories: classroom disturbance and disrespect-defiance, with Quay's (1978) conduct disorder category and Stott et al.'s (1975) Inconsequence syndrome. However in Williams' Israeli study (1974) cruelty, dishonesty, aggression and stealing were the difficult behaviours of most concern to teachers. In another recent New Zealand study (Department of Education, 1980), alcohol, bullying, swearing, smoking, stealing and vandalism were considered to be more serious than classroom disruption or defiance towards teachers. In the present study the emphasis was on classroom management. Teachers did regard behaviours like bullying and stealing seriously but saw them as easier to handle because of their clear-cut nature and relatively lower frequency of occurrence.

The upper quartile of difficult pupils in the present study were shown to be comparatively handicapped in social development. Cartledge and Milburn's (1978) review showed that lack of social skills makes the pupil more vulnerable to negative reactions from teachers. Hewett (1972) saw the classroom as socially demanding and therefore a place where pupils with conduct disorders would be highly visible. Thus the finding that those labelled as 'most difficult' were lacking in social skills was predictable.

Explanations of Difficult Behaviour

The senior teachers interviewed, generally did not question their right, as 'agents of control' (Rhodes and Paul, 1978), to define which behaviours were unacceptable and which pupils should be labelled as 'difficult' for engaging in those behaviours. Yet Rhodes and Paul (1978) and Hargreaves (1975) argue that 'difficulty' is a socially constituted term, a label conferred on behaviours which contravene norms whose basis is culturally relative and not absolute. That certain sub-cultural groups in schools did not accept these norms is suggested by some of the evidence obtained from the analysis of variance. Non-Europeans truanted and flouted uniform regulations more often than Europeans. Non-European females were more often guilty of smoking at school and of using obscene language. The Department of Education's Special Working Party on Absenteeism reported a Maori rate of absenteeism twice that of Pakehas and among other things attributed this to "cultural and/or ethnic difference from the 'main-stream' value system". (Department of Education, 1977, p.76.)

Community Officers of the Department of Maori Affairs in Christchurch were at a loss to explain why Maori girls should frequently engage in some of the more blatant misbehaviours. In fact it is the antithesis of traditional Maori female behaviour (Metge, 1967). As the number in the sample was small (N=20) the result may have been due to change. However, in the experience of the researcher, young Maori girls are often undertaking considerable domestic responsibility at home and are often sexually active. A

significant number marry early and have children early (Simpson, 1971; Woolford and Law, 1980). Perhaps because they live 'adult' lives outside school they resent being regarded as children in school and express their frustration in anti-social behaviour.

The 'type of school' main effect revealed that the more blatant misbehaviours: rudeness, truancy, being out of bounds, flouting uniform regulations, obscene language, throwing objects and smoking occurred more frequently in co-educational schools. Entry to state secondary schools in Christchurch is controlled by a strict zoning policy which has the effect of ensuring that three of the four single sex schools tend to obtain most of their pupils from districts housing the higher socio-economic levels. Werthman (1970) suggested that, in schools, identity and status is more often denied to those from the lower socio-economic levels, who certainly were over-represented in the present study. These are the pupils who probably represent those whose norms and goals are most at variance with the more conservative, conforming and academically oriented values of the school. They are also those to whom the system is probably the most frustrating.

Senior staff saw school factors such as large size, complex organisation, disruptions to the timetable, lack of readiness for secondary education, inflexible and unsuitable curricula, teaching methods, and teacher characteristics such as insecurity and intolerance contributing to the problem. This accords with Polk and Schafer's (1972) assertion that the organizational structure and ideology of the school

ensures negative responses and that problems arise from adverse school-pupil interactions rather than just from family or personality factors. Likewise, Fox's study (1977) found bureaucratization to be a major source of alienation.

The pupil responses during interviews also revealed criticisms of the school system. Echoes of Morton-Williams' (1968) study were found in the desire for more practical and 'life' skills in the curriculum, for fewer trivial and/or inconsistently applied rules, for more understanding teachers, for more help with learning difficulties and for more flexibility in the school day.

One pupil expressed the common desire for teachers to like her and the work to be understandable. Burt and Howard (1974) found this in their factorial study of difficult behaviour, where the most influential school factors were work that was too difficult and uncongenial teachers.

The psychological factors (the 'distal' influences described by Stebbins, 1970) which may operate were also evident in the present study. Sex as a main effect, and in interaction with race, occurred in particular in relation to out of seat behaviour. It was shown that European males engaged in this behaviour more frequently than any other group. This is consistent with one of Beilin's (1959) conclusions that the behaviours of girls were more usually those which facilitated learning and teaching in the classroom. Boys were considered to be more active and less amenable to a passive pursuit like sitting still.

In the present study more of the difficult pupils were lower in self-esteem than the well-behaved pupils were. This is in accordance with Bloom's (1979) finding that low self-image was associated with behaviour disorders. It was also predictable in the light of Rosenberg's finding that the lower levels of self-esteem contain more adolescents from the lower socio-economic classes and from homes where the parents have separated, than the higher levels of self-esteem. A tendency for the difficult pupils to come from the lower socio-economic levels and from solo parent homes was evident in the Christchurch sample.

Self-esteem may be lower within school because of an inability to achieve the academic success that the school values, such as School Certificate passes. Scholastic aptitude produced a main effect in that those of low aptitude engaged more frequently in fighting, truancy, being out of bounds and using obscene language. Such behaviour could reflect social or personality factors but it could also indicate frustration at lack of academic success.

Family factors were emphasized by senior staff as causes of difficult behaviour. In particular they mentioned lack of parent-child communication, parents' personal problems such as unemployment or psychiatric disorder, and conflict between home and school values. Likewise the difficult pupils interviewed desired better family communication and an end to parental stresses. These findings are in accordance with those of Feldhusen (1978, Hersov (1978), Rutter (1975), and Quay and Werry (1972) that aspects of family life, in particular lax or over-strict discipline, lack of love and the

consequent inadequate development of conscience, marital discord and personality or psychiatric disorders in parents all contribute to the genesis of conduct disorders. Medway (1979) found that the more severe the conduct disorder the more teachers were likely to attribute it to personality or home factors, a finding echoed by the senior staff interviewed in the present study.

Finally, inadequate parenting may lead to the learning of maladaptive behaviour rather than adaptive behaviour. (Goldstein, 1978.) The behaviour deficiency model of deviant behaviour sees behavioural deficits as the result of histories of inadequate reinforcement and instruction rather than as the result of some internal psychopathology. In the present study the difficult pupils who were studied more intensively were found to be deficient in social development and tended to come from homes where senior staff believed the parenting to be inadequate.

Sociological and psychological factors tend to interact. Some of the difficult pupils interviewed saw emotional and family factors pushing them to misbehave when they were in school situations with which they could not cope. They wanted to change their attitudes and behaviour but asked for environmental support to do so. That institutional change rather than personal change may work was suggested by Burt and Howard's (1974) London survey of twenty years of expulsions and re-enrolments in other classes or other schools. Of the pupils surveyed 73 percent improved with a change of school and 68 percent with a change of class. Christchurch senior staff also entertained that possibility.

Willower and Lawrence (1979) found a direct link between what they called "custodialism" and teacher perception of student threat to their status. This was seen as inevitable in schools, where weak control is generally equated with ineffectiveness. That many pupils share this view was evident in their call for greater teacher strictness. However the difficult pupils tended to want such strictness to be accompanied by understanding.

As the status of senior staff is not as dependent on classroom control, they were able to suggest solutions other than traditional punishments like detention, while acknowledging that these do serve to allow justice to be seen to be done and to release teacher feelings of frustration. They wanted to make provision within existing schools rather than set up the type of alternative school recommended by Perry and Duke (1978). However they, and many of the pupils interviewed endorsed aspects of alternative schooling such as flexibility, reduced class size, informal teacher-pupil relationships, relevant curricula and off-campus learning opportunities.

Little use of contingency management was reported in spite of the fact that all of the schools have Guidance Counsellors who are trained in it. However there is much more to teaching and control of classes than resorting to 'skills' and if the promise of the work of behaviourists such as Goldstein (1978) is to be fulfilled skills training for teachers will have to be accompanied by recognition of, and provision for, important considerations such as staff

relationships, teacher self-esteem and school climate. Likewise the promising work in social skills training reported by such as Lindsay et al. (1979) and Pease (1979) cannot be introduced into schools without recognition of the importance of motivation in the pupil, support from the environment and facilitative relationships with the trainer.

One promising development reported was the increased contact with parents. Where this is extended, if appropriate, to family counselling and/or parent education, it might help to meet the desire for better family communication which a number of the difficult pupils expressed. One large high school already runs an extensive programme of parent education (Shaw and Matthews, 1980) and a recent newspaper report discussed the move by Guidance Counsellors into the field of family counselling. (Christchurch Star, 1979.)

Counselling generally was reported to be widely used in the Christchurch schools surveyed. However there was a recognition that it is not a substitute for punishment, a confusion which appeared to arise in the Post-Primary Teachers' Association's debate on corporal punishment. Senior teachers considered that while a particular difficult pupil may need remedial help rather than punishment in order to change, the rest of the pupils and the staff need punishment as a visible sign that norm-violation is not accepted and that justice has been done.

It is possible to dismiss difficult pupils as unacceptable norm-violators who should be excluded from schools. On the other hand it is possible to regard them positively

as critics of the educational system, even if their criticism takes an unacceptable form. They challenge educators to examine social institutions. Indirectly they ask important questions such as: Why does our society allow parents to abuse their children in the way many of these children have been abused? Why are the values and needs of the intellectually able dominant in the curriculum? Why is there often little real understanding of minority cultures?

C. RESEARCH PROPOSALS

The present study, and in particular the pupil interviews, probably raised more questions than were answered. Further research could be designed to examine the following issues:

1. The extent to which controlled observations of classroom misbehaviour would correlate with teacher perceptions of the misbehaviour.
2. The views of parents whose children are designated as 'difficult' at school.
3. The efficacy of alternative learning programmes within schools or alternative facilities, like the Dunedin centre, outside schools.
4. The contributions of contingency management training for teachers and social skills training for pupils nominated as deficient in socialisation.
5. The effect of family counselling on subsequent school behaviour and achievement of those family members attending secondary school.
6. Further examination of pupil views about difficult school behaviour.
7. Detailed examination of teacher-pupil interactions which

result in conflict.

8. Sociological analysis of schools especially in terms of in-groups and out-groups.

There is a need for secondary schools to continue to seek better ways of responding to the very basic plea of one of the difficult pupils: "I would like the teachers to like me and the work to be so I could understand it".

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APPENDIX A

Letter to Principals

Dear _____

As you know, the Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council wants to help schools cope with difficult pupils. As part of this a survey is to be undertaken in Christchurch state secondary schools during Terms 1 and 2, 1980. The aims of the survey are:

1. To find out the numbers of difficult pupils.
2. To classify the behaviours regarded as difficult.
3. To describe the characteristics of the pupils classified as difficult.
4. To examine the overall effect of their behaviour on the school.
5. To survey existing methods of dealing with difficult pupils.
6. To gather suggestions about possible new ways of coping.

Anne Munro, Guidance Counsellor at Papanui High School, has offered to carry out this survey for the Secondary Schools' Council. She will be assisted by John Small of the Education Department, University of Canterbury. She will present some of the material as part of an M.A. thesis which can be restricted in circulation if principals so wish.

As is usual in investigations of this type, no school or pupil will be identified in either the thesis or the report to be compiled for the Secondary Schools' Council and participating schools.

There are three stages to the survey. First we would like every teacher to fill in a questionnaire involving each pupil who has been found to be difficult during the period February - July 1980. Next we would like the senior staff to collect and complete the questionnaires and jointly to discuss them. Finally Anne Munro would like to meet the senior staff as a group to hear their views and question them about the problems and solutions seen by the school as a whole.

Some time between 18 and 24 February Anne Munro or John Small will phone you to find out whether you are willing to participate and to answer any questions. On 25 February more detailed information will be sent to those schools willing to take part in the survey.

Arch Gilchrist has been involved in the planning of this exercise and is supportive of it. He will be in touch separately.

Yours sincerely,

Malcolm Richards (Signed)

CHRISTCHURCH SECONDARY SCHOOLS COUNCIL SURVEY OF

DIFFICULT PUPILS

Notice to Teachers

As part of their efforts to help teachers cope with difficult pupils, the Christchurch Secondary Schools' Council is conducting a survey during terms 1 & 2 1980. You are invited to keep this in mind as you encounter difficult pupils during this time.

Definition of Difficult Pupil

> A pupil who persistently causes you such serious difficulty that you have to call on your Principal, Deputy-Principal, Senior Master or Mistress, Deans or Tutors, H.O.D. or Counsellor to assist you because regular means of discipline (e.g. impositions, detentions) are ineffective.

During June 1980 you will be asked to fill in a questionnaire (see attached sheet) for every such pupil you have taught, or encountered in the playground between 1 Feb. & 30 June.

APPENDIX C

CHRISTCHURCH SECONDARY SCHOOLS COUNCIL

SURVEY OF DIFFICULT PUPILS

GUIDELINES FOR SCHOOL CO-ORDINATOR

1. IMPORTANT DATES

   Hand out and explain to staff by 4 JUNE
   Collect back by 13 JUNE
   Senior staff consider completed questionnaires by 20 JUNE
   Interviews by Anne Munro 23 JUNE - 4 JULY

2. Each staff member is to receive one copy of the questionnaire and one copy of the instructions.

3. Any unused copies are to be returned to you. If required extra copies can be obtained from Anne Munro, Phone 526-119 or John Small, Phone 482-009, Ext. 8659.

4. Where several questionnaires are completed for a particular pupil staple these together.

5. Arrange for the information on the reverse side of the questionnaire to be filled in by the appropriate people (probably senior staff or counsellors).

6. Facing data (age, sex etc.) may be filled in by the teacher or if desired a research assistant will come out after 20 JUNE to obtain this information from school records. The research assistant will be carefully instructed about the importance of confidentiality.

7. Would senior staff please vet the questionnaires by 20 JUNE and note in pencil whether the definition of the pupil as difficult is in their opinion justified.

8. Questionnaires will be collected by Anne Munro at the time arranged for the joint interview with the senior staff who are usually called upon to deal with difficult pupils (e.g., Deputy-Principal, Deans, counsellor etc.)

9. It would be most helpful if the senior staff interviewed would allow the interview to be taped for later analysis.

10. Before any of the completed questionnaires leave the school the pencilled names of teachers and pupils will be erased.

CHRISTCHURCH SECONDARY SCHOOLS COUNCIL

SURVEY OF DIFFICULT PUPILS

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHERS

1. DEFINITION OF "DIFFICULT" PUPIL

> A pupil who persistently causes you such serious difficulty that you have to call on your Principal, Deputy-Principal, Senior Master or Mistress, Deans or Tutors, H.O.D. or Counsellor to assist you because regular means of discipline (e.g., impositions, detentions) are ineffective.

2. Fill in Side 1 of the Questionnaire only. Senior staff will complete Side 2.

3. Please fill in a questionnaire for each pupil who fits the above definition and who was taught by you or encountered in the playground between 1 February and 13 June 1980.

4. Pencil in the pupil's name and your teacher code at the top of Side 1 of the questionnaire. (Both of these will be deleted before the questionnaire leaves the school.)

5. Tick the appropriate box beside each listed behaviour. If the behaviour never occurs leave all boxes blank.

   "Frequently" means more than half the time.

   "Sometimes" means less than half but more than one quarter of the time.

   "Hardly ever" means less than one quarter of the time.

   "Attack" means attacks physically.

6. The terms Counselling and Behaviour Modification are used in a technical sense.

7. The Child and Family Guidance Clinic was formerly known as the Child Health Clinic.

8. Remember to complete one questionnaire for each pupil <u>you</u> have found difficult by the above definition. Some pupils may have questionnaires filled in about them by several teachers. It is important to the survey to know if this is so.

9. If you need more than one questionnaire, ask the person organising the survey in your school. If you do not need one at all, please return your blank copy to the organising person.

CHRISTCHURCH SECONDARY SCHOOLS COUNCIL

SURVEY OF DIFFICULT PUPILS

Age Race Father's / Mother's Occupation

Sex I.Q. Family size Form

Any known health problem

BEHAVIOURS IN CLASS (Tick)	Frequently	Sometimes	Hardly ever
Refuses to obey instructions			
Attacks other pupils			
Attacks teacher			
Serious vandalism			
Swears			
Screams/yells			
Throws objects			
Tantrums			
Out of seat			
Rude to teachers			
Lies			
Does little work			
Disrupts lessons			
Expresses strong dislike of school			
Other (specify) _____			
_____			

Behaviour considered most disruptive

_____

_____

_____

_____

Interviewer only

P	C	ST	JT
ET		IT	

OUT OF CLASS			
Fights in playground			
Truants			
Smokes at school			
Out of bounds at lunchtime			
Serious vandalism			
Steals (school related only)			
Flouts uniform regulations			
Drinking alcohol at school			
Serious physical attack			
Swearing/obscene language			

OTHER COMMENTS:

INTERVENTIONS TRIED	No. of times
Detentions	
Caning	
3-day Cooling-off	
Suspension	
Expulsion	
Conference with Parents	
Withdrawal room	
Change of class - temporary	
- permanent	
Counselling	
Behaviour Modification	

OTHER INVOLVEMENT	(Tick)
Social Welfare supervision	☐
Children's Board	☐
Children's Court	☐
Boys'/Girls' Home	☐
Psychological Service	☐
Child & Family Guidance Clinic	☐

Other (specify) _____

APPENDIX F

SURVEY OF DIFFICULT PUPILS IN CHRISTCHURCH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

SENIOR STAFF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SINGLE SEX ☐ SCHOOL ROLL AT 1 MARCH 1980 ☐

CO-EDUCATIONAL ☐

PRESENT AT INTERVIEW:

Principal	☐	Senior Master/Mistress	☐	Counsellor(s)	☐
Deputy-Principal	☐	Deans/Tutors	☐	Visiting Teacher	☐

1. Report back on teacher responses to questionnaire.
   Could the teachers classifying the pupil as difficult have in any way contributed to the problem?

2. What proportion of the total school population would you classify as
   (a) Very difficult?
   (b) Difficult?

3. What is the most difficult behaviour you have had to deal with during the past six months?

4. Can you see any patterns emerging? (e.g. in age, sex)

5. What teacher characteristics contribute to the problem?

6. What school characteristics contribute to the problem? (e.g. size, disruptions to timetable, relieving teachers, etc.)

7. What conditions outside the school contribute to difficult pupil behaviour in school? (e.g. family background)

8. What methods do you currently use to deal with difficult pupils?

9. What would you like to see done?

As a check on the analysis of this interview we would like to record it on cassette tape.

APPENDIX G

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SCALE
(Pilot Version)

Code Number ☐

1. Name of person being rated _____ (In pencil please)

2. Name of person completing this scale _____

3. Please state whether a parent, foster-parent, teacher, etc.

_____

4. For how long in total have you had day-to-day contact with the person being rated?

_____

5. Today's date _____

6. Date of last contact with person being rated (if different from 5)

_____

7. Please show whether or not each of the following four descriptions apply to the person who is being rated:

	Doesn't apply at the present time	Applies somewhat at the present time	Certainly applies at the present time
(a) Compared to others of his/her age this person appears to be well adjusted, and to have acquired the social skills which are normal for this age.	☐	☐	☐
(b) Compared to others of his/her age this person appears to be overly shy, withdrawn, anxious, or fearful.	☐	☐	☐
(c) Compared to others of his/her age, this person tends to be disrespectful, disruptive, disobedient, irresponsible, delinquent, or overly aggressive.	☐	☐	☐
(d) Compared to others of his/her age, this person appears to be immature socially, and to be lacking in the social skills which are normal for this age.	☐	☐	☐

INSTRUCTIONS

The scale which follows consists of descriptions of 62 different behaviours.

1. Please decide whether each of the behaviours listed is one in which this person engages "very frequently", "often", "about half of the time", "occasionally", or "not at all" and place a tick in the appropriate box.

2. When making this decision, please take into account only the behaviour which you yourself have seen. It is most important that you do not allow your judgment to be influenced by what other people have told you.

3. When making this decision please take into account only the behaviour which you have seen during the past four weeks. It is most important that you do not allow your judgment to be influenced by events which may have happened at some earlier time.

4. Please rate the person on each of the items provided, regardless of whether or not it seems relevant. If you feel that a particular behaviour (item) is poorly or ambiguously worded, please write "ambig" under that item. If you feel that a particular item is not relevant to social development or social adjustment, please write "not rel." under that item.

5. Please work as quickly as possible through the scale. It is your immediate or first impression on each item which is sought.

1.

	Very frequently	Often	About half the time	Occas-ionally	Never	
1. Joins in conversations, group discussions, and social activities that are going on.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1.____
2. Asks others for advice or assistance when this is needed.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2.____
3. Initiates contact and conversations with others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3.____
4. Takes the initiative in organizing or leading group activities with others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	4.____
5. Tackles new activities and tasks with confidence.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5.____
6. Stands, sits, or works alone when others are talking, playing, or working together	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	6.____
7. Avoids or rejects the approaches of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	7.____
8. Feigns headaches, sickness, etc in order to avoid interactions with others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	8.____
9. Lets others push in ahead of him/her	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	9.____
10. Lets him/herself be used by others, e.g., fails to refuse unreasonable requests or demands from others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	10.____
11. Gets picked on or bullied by others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	11.____
12. Perceives insults or criticism where none were intended	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	12.____
13. Puts him/herself down, e.g., says things which indicate a low opinion of him/herself	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	13.____
14. Worries unduly about things which are not worth worrying about	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	14.____
15. Becomes upset, miserable, or tearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	15.____

2.

	Very frequently	Often	About half the time	Occas-ionally	Never	
16. Has good personal hygiene, e.g., keeps clean and tidy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	16.____
17. Stands at an appropriate distance from people when talking to them	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	17.____
18. Greets people appropriately, e.g. smiles, nods, says hello, or stops to talk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	18.____
19. Makes eye contact when conversing with others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	19.____
20. Asks others how they are, what they have been doing, where they have been, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	20.____
21. Shows interest in what others are saying during conversations e.g. with appropriate facial expressions, nods, comments, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	21.____
22. Shows appreciation when others offer to help, e.g. by saying "thank you", smiling, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	22.____
23. Honours commitments entered into with others e.g. meeting friends, turning up, completing work promised, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	23.____
24. Arrives for appointments, classes, meetings, etc. on time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	24.____
25. Compromises with others when conflicts or disagreements arise	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	25.____
26. Behaves sympathetically when others are unhappy, upset, or embarrassed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	26.____
27. Takes his/her turn when others are waiting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	27.____
28. Continues talking after others have indicated that they would like to comment or that they would like to get on with something else	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	28.____
29. Interrupts others when they are speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	29.____
30. Says or does things which kill the conversations which he/she is involved in	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	30.____
31. Uses demands where others would use requests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	31.____

	Very frequently	Often	About half the time	Occas-ionally	Never	
32. Looks pleased when thanked, praised or encouraged.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	32.____
33. Looks guilty or embarrassed when reprimanded for behaving inappropriately	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	33.____
34. Actively rejects praise or encouragement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	34.____
35. Does things for others only if offered some immediate reward or favour in return	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	35.____
36. Reacts suspiciously to approaches, praise, or offers from others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	36.____
37. Blames others when reprimanded for behaving inappropriately	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	37.____
38. Continues to behave inappropriately after being reprimanded, warned, or asked to stop	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	38.____
39. Ignores initial requests and directions even though he/she has heard them	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	39.____
40. Reacts in a cheeky or impertinent way to requests or directions from those in authority	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	40.____
41. Continues to plead, nag, or whine after his/her initial request or demand has been refused	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	41.____
42. Tries to get own way by sulking or crying and refusing to cooperate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	42.____
43. Tries to get own way by throwing tantrums, e.g. by shouting or swearing and refusing to cooperate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	43.____
44. Tries to get own way by storming out of the room and refusing to cooperate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	44.____
45. Tries to get own way by making threats and refusing to cooperate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	45.____
46. Uses others, e.g. gets others to do things for him/her without doing something in return	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	46.____

4.

	Very frequently	Often	About half the time	Occas-ionally	Never	
47. Makes sounds which disturb or annoy others, e.g. burps, coughs, giggles, etc	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	47.____
48. Moves about inappropriately, e.g. fidgets jiggles, moves about without permission, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	48.____
49. Interrupts or annoys others when they are working or relaxing on their own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	49.____
50. Taunts or teases others until they become upset or angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	50.____
51. Shouts others down when he/she disagrees with them	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	51.____
52. Insults or embarrasses others, e.g. says things to others which make them feel inferior or inadequate.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	52.____
53. Criticizes behaviours in others which he/she also engages in	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	53.____
54. Intentionally gives exaggerated or untruthful accounts about things which have happened	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	54.____
55. Betrays the confidences of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	55.____
56. Behaves like a sore loser e.g. cheats or withdraws from games, or makes a big fuss when he/she loses	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	56.____
57. Steals things from people he/she knows	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	57.____
58. Reacts with more anger than the situation calls for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	58.____
59. Defaces, damages, breaks, or destroys other people's property	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	59.____
60. Hurls or throws objects in anger	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	60.____
61. Intimidates or threatens others in ways which frighten them	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	61.____
62. Acts violently towards others e.g. shoves, hits, punches, or kicks others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	62.____

FEELINGS ABOUT MYSELF

Please show how you feel about each of these statements about yourself by circling one of the items following each statement:
Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD).

1.	On the whole I am satisfied with myself.....	SA	A	D	SD
2.	At times I think I am no good at all.....	SA	A	D	SD
3.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.....	SA	A	D	SD
4.	I am able to do things as well as most other people.....	SA	A	D	SD
5.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.....	SA	A	D	SD
6.	I certainly feel useless at times.....	SA	A	D	SD
7.	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.....	SA	A	D	SD
8.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.....	SA	A	D	SD
9.	All in all, I'm inclined to feel that I'm a failure.....	SA	A	D	SD
10.	I take a positive attitude towards myself.....	SA	A	D	SD

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Pupil: _____ School: _____ Class: _____

Interviewer: _____ Date: _____ Time: _____

I'd like you to help me with some research by answering some questions about yourself. Teachers have opinions about pupils which they report to parents and to other teachers, but I would like to find out something about you from your point of view. None of your teachers, or your parents, or any other pupils will be told what you say to me.

First of all, I'd like you to show whether you agree or disagree with these ten statements as they apply to you. (Give the pupil a pen and a copy of the scale and read out the directions. If necessary, read each item aloud also. Make sure that the pupil's name goes on the scale and is attached to the interview sheet.)

Then ask these questions:

1. What sort of a person are you?
   (Prompt: happy, sad, etc.)

2. If a friend was describing you, what do you think he/she would say about you?

3. What does your friend say about the things you do?

4. What sort of a person do you think your parents think you are?

5. Most people do things that annoy their parents. What do you do that annoys your parents most?

6. How do you feel about school?

7. How do you behave at school? In class? In the playground?

8. What sort of a person do you think your teachers think you are?

9. Most people do things that annoy teachers. What do you do that annoys your teachers most?

10. Sometimes teachers find some pupils rather difficult to manage. Are you one of those pupils? _____ Would you explain that a bit more?

11. Who (who else) in your class is sometimes difficult to manage?

12. What exactly is it that happens when a teacher finds it difficult to manage X (or you)? Could you give me a recent example?

13. Could you give me another example?

14. How do you feel when things like that happen?

15. How do you think such things could be avoided?

16. If you could change things at school in any way you liked, what would you want to be different?

17. If you could change things at home in any way you liked, what would you want to be different?

18. If you could change yourself in any way you liked, what would you want to be different?

APPENDIX J

Analysis of Pupil Interviews

1. What sort of a person are you?

Difficult Pupils (N=33)		Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)	
Happy	9	Happy	17
Friendly	3	Friendly	4
Average/ordinary	4	Average/ordinary	3
Moody	3	All right	5
Helpful	2	Helpful	4
Likeable	2	Kind	1
Talkative	2	Reasonably reliable	2
Pleasant	2	Good at sport	3
A nuscience	2	Mischievous	1
Persistent	2	Stubborn	1
A Maori	2	A Maori and proud of it	1
Hardworking	2	Trustworthy	1
Careless	1	Direct	1
Physical	1	Variable	1
Do what I want	1	Argumentative	1
Easy to get on with	1	Easy to get on with sometimes	3
Bad tempered	1	Bit of a bully	1
Happy go lucky	1	Happy go lucky	1
Easily upset	1	Bossy	1
Slow	1	Good-looking	1
Shy	1	Have a good personality	1
Dumb	1	Not very bright	1
I get very angry	1	Angry	1
Sad	1	Sad sometimes	1
Fun to be with	1	Act the goat	1
Nervous	1	Like trying new things	2
Quiet	1	Quiet	4
O.K.	1	Outgoing	2
Cheerful	1	Enthusiastic	1
Lots of friends	1	Interesting	1
Intelligent	1	Not naughty	1
Polite	1	Polite	2
Very cheeky	1	Respectful	1
Sensitive	1	Nice	1

Demanding	1	Honest	1
Kind	1	Understanding	1
(The numbers indicate how many subjects used a particular description.)		Enjoy most things I can do	1
		Do jobs at home	1

2. If a friend was describing you, what do you think he/she would say about you?

Difficult Pupils (N=33)		Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)	
A good friend (mate)	9	A good friend	6
Loyal (trustworthy)	5	Loyal (trustworthy)	3
Fun to be with	5	Fun to be with	1
Helpful	2	Helpful	4
O.K. (all right)	1	O.K.	4
Quiet	2	Quiet	2
Well-mannered	2	Polite	2
Good to talk to	2	Easy to talk to	1
Small	2	Attractive (pretty)	3
Stupid	2	Always making stupid jokes	1
Some good points	1	Outgoing	1
A good sort	1	Likeable	3
Sense of humour	1	Humorous	1
Dependable	1	Loving	1
Sometimes in a bad mood	1	Quick-tempered	1
Cheeky (very smart with comments)	2	Strong in character	1
Tough	1	Unusual	1
Sometimes naughty	1	Grown-up in thoughts	1
Friendly	1	Friendly	3
Cheerful	1	Happy (makes jokes)	3
Pleasant to be with	1	Considerate	1
Maori	1	Shy	1
A good person	1	A good person	11
Very nice	1	Nice	1
Not bad	1	Loveable	1
Intelligent	1	Above average at work	1
Popular	1	A leader in Tu Tangata	1
A pain in the neck	1	A hard case	
Not shy of embarrassed	1	Easy-going	1

Act dumb	1	Good-looking	1
Caring	1	Caring	2
Touchy	1	Grown-up	1
Kind and generous if in the mood	1	Generous	1
Too strong for the class	1	Thorough	1
(The number indicate how many subjects used a particular description.)		Talkative	2
		If worried ignore others	1

4. What sort of a person do you think your parents think you are?

	Difficult Pupils (N=33)		Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)
Negative	Difficult	2	Arrogant 1
	Careless	1	Like to have my own way 1
	Useless	2	Pretty naughty 1
	Very bad-tempered	1	Bit of a rough 1
	Bossy	1	Bossy 1
	A little b.	1	Do too much 1
	Dumb	1	Stepmother dislikes me 1
	Lonely	2	
	Quick-tempered	1	Sometimes a nuisance 1
	Rude	1	Stubborn 1
	I'm trouble	2	Lazy 1
	Disappointing	1	Dumb - my brains are in my bum 1
	Bad (worse than I really am)	1	A hussy 1
	A brat	1	Nasty 1
	Rowdy	1	Doubtful 1
	Argumentative	1	That I don't do anything unless asked 1
	Nosey	1	A good worker 3
	That I moan a lot	1	Proud of me 2
	Helpful	1	All right (at times) 3
	Only happy part of the time	1	Useful 1
	Someone to laugh together with	1	Determined 1
Positive	Proud of me	1	Hardworking 1
			Dress nicely 1

Well-mannered	2
Good	2
Bright	1
Good personality	1
Nervous	1
Well behaved	1
She thinks I'm a good girl (but she doesn't know the whole story)	1

Don't have to be told off	1
Good	8
Kind	1
Cooperative	1
Loyal	1
Care about people	1
Nice	3
Friendly	3
Occupied	1
Hardly ever get into trouble	1
Bright	3
Polite	1
Helpful	4
Quiet	1
A keen sport	1
Obedient	2
Have a good personality	1

8. What sort of a person do you think your teachers think you are?

Difficult Pupils (N=33)

Positive	
Hardworking	1
A good person	3
Quiet	1
Helpful	2
Get on well with others	1
Humerous	1
Average in class	3
Settled now (quietened)	3
Cheerful	2
Improving	1
Quite nice	1
A good runner	1
Cunning for business	1

Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)

Positive	
Hardworking	10
A good person	5
Quiet	4
Helpful	2
Get on well with others	1
Good sense of humour	1
A real character (or a real boy)	7
A's for conduct	1
Don't talk out of place	1
Don't get into trouble	1
Nice	2
Friendly	1
They like me	2
Keen to learn and participate	1

Negative	
A nuisance /annoyance/ pest	8
A little brat	2
Rowdy	1
Easily distracted - don't finish work	1
Dozey	1
Dumb	1
A troublemaker	1
Cheeky/smart	4
Argumentative	1
Not one of their favourites	1
Very naughty	1
A baby if I can't be bothered	1
Nasty	1
Infuriating	1
A fool	1
Could do better	1
Bad	1
Talkative	1
Not hard-working	1
Disruptive	1
Kind	1
Responsible	1
That I've got ability	1
Cooperative	2
Trustworthy	1
Polite	5
Pleasant	2
Negative	
Naughty	1
Noisy	3
Bossy	1
Lazy	1
Up and down -all night sometimes	2
Rough	1
A nuisance	1
A chatterbox	1
A pain in subjects I don't like	1
A bunker (but I'm really sick)	1
Could work harder	2
Don't get work in on time	1

Questions 12 and 13. Incidents of Difficult Behaviour

Difficult Pupils

1. He had a knife and was caught with it. He started swearing at the teacher who sent him to Mr H. (Principal). He was expelled from school. He swore at him too.

2. With my Maths teacher. She'd get sick of me when I disrupted and I'd be sent to another Maths class. Sometimes it happened with English and other teachers too.

3. You talk - don't stop. You're threatened with the office or pages. You don't stop and get sent out. (A male might be caned.)

4. I was being too noisy and I wouldn't stop. She told me to get out and go and see Mrs R. (the Dean). I gave her a mouthful as I went out and my girlfriend followed. We just took our bags and walked out of school.

5. Vicki threw a rubber. I threw it back and it bit a bunsen burner. Mr P. went wild and we were sent to Mr G. Vicki got two D's (detentions) and I got the cane.

6. I was late and she told me off in front of everyone. Then she told me to write an essay on why I should be on time. I just wrote that she could get fucked.

7. I couldn't do a Maths test so I was carving the desk. Mrs C. told me to stop and I said she could get fucked. She sent me to Mr G. and he was going to cane me but I took off. (An example of low frustration tolerance.)

8. Jason kicked me in the line-up and said, "Poofter, get out. You wear dresses. Michael saw you. We don't want poofters here". I hit him with my pack and Mr M. put my name in the book. That's twice. If I get it in three times I'll get caned, but I'll jsut run away.

9.

9. Wayne borrowed the Twink off Donna and he didn't ask first so Mrs W. gave him a D. It wan't his fault because Donna was the one that took it off the table. I told Mrs W. to get stuffed.

Well-behaved Pupils

1. A student tries to sidetrack a teacher. The teacher allows the sidetrack. The students think they are winning. Others begin to play up. Then the teacher realises and gives a lecture and threatens detention.

2. Sarah McL. talks all the time. The teacher tells her to stop. She keeps going. The teacher will tell her again and again and eventually gets annoyed enough to give a detention. With a firm teacher she will be quiet longer each time.

3. A girl is told to be quiet. She pulls a face. The teacher sees it, tells the girl off. The girl then doesn't like the teacher and draws pictures and writes rude names. The teacher doesn't find out.

4. Kids test out new teachers. We rigged up a chair to break. The teacher got all upset. We do it for relieving teachers of brand-new teachers.

5. A boy threw a pine cone. The teacher asked for it. The boy rolled it to him but the other boys grabbed it - shouting, screaming, a riot. The teacher went to see the D.P. The boy was sent to the D.P.

6. If Vicki is in a shitty she won't do anything. Like she was told to do some dishes and she sloshed water on Miss H. and swore. She was told to go to Mr G. (Dean) so she went out and pushed over a stool on the way. But she didn't go to him.

7. Some teachers are really scared of some pupils in here.

7. Some teachers are really scared of some pupils in here. They're ganged up on. We used to play up on Mrs D. because she was really soft. Someone swore at her and she broke down and cried and ran out of the class.

8. Kim yaps away. The teacher puts them on the board. Two times and you get a fatigue, three times a detention. Then Kim moans. If the class gets ten or more on the board we all stay in.

9. When a person takes someone's book and hides it for a whole period. The teacher gets annoyed. Keeps telling them to give it back. The teacher gets frustrated because she can't find who did it.

18. If you could change yourself in any way you liked, what would you want to be different?

Difficult Pupils (N=33)	Well-behaved Pupils (N=38)
Change in Attitude or Behaviour at School	
Stay out of trouble at school.	My attitude at school. Speak better words and stop swearing.
Settle down. I want to succeed in high school.	
Wake up a bit. Pass School C.	
Not talk out of turn - be average at schoolwork.	
Not get into trouble.	
Being more helpful at school - not getting in people's way.	
Wish I could be more self-motivated.	
Change attitude towards parents and teachers from being nasty to being respectful.	
To do well. I want to learn. I like learning but I get too nervous.	
My attitude towards class-mates - to be more friendly in some ways.	
Change in Personality	
Be nice to people. Have a better personality and be able to take jokes.	Get more friends. Be a friendlier person.
Not to be nervous.	I'd like to be classy, like to be able to speak nice, speak posh, have money, own a car and be able to dress nice and have people think I was quite nice.
Try to be more pleasant towards people.	
Be a good person. Be able to think that people liked me and that.	Be more active.
Brainier.	Be a bit boisterous.
	Not be so jealous of my friends going to parties.

Should broaden my ideas.
Get over my shyness.
I'd like to be honest with myself.
I'd like to be good at everything and achieve. (2)
To be not so dumb and pass S.C.
Be better at school work (4)

Physical Attributes

Thicker hair
To be older.
I'd like to be neat looking like Kim.
Taller.

Be a bit slimmer
Be taller (2)
More thick set and not so skinny.
Bit taller. Sometimes when you're short kids pick on you.
Be shorter.
Be older.
Be prettier.